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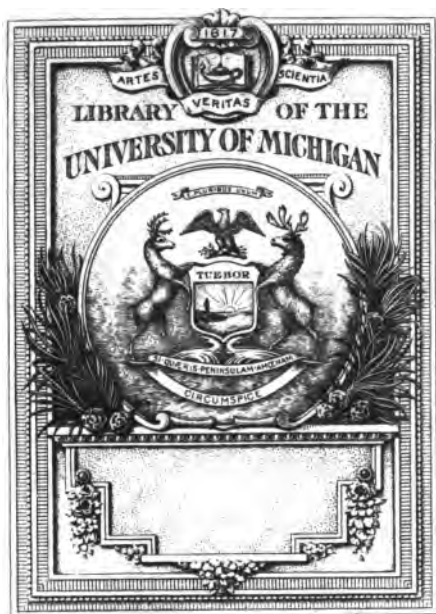
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THE  
REMAINS  
OF  
THOMAS CRANMER, D.D.  
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

COLLECTED AND ARRANGED  
BY  
THE REV. HENRY JENKYN, M.A.  
FELLOW OF ORIEL COLLEGE.

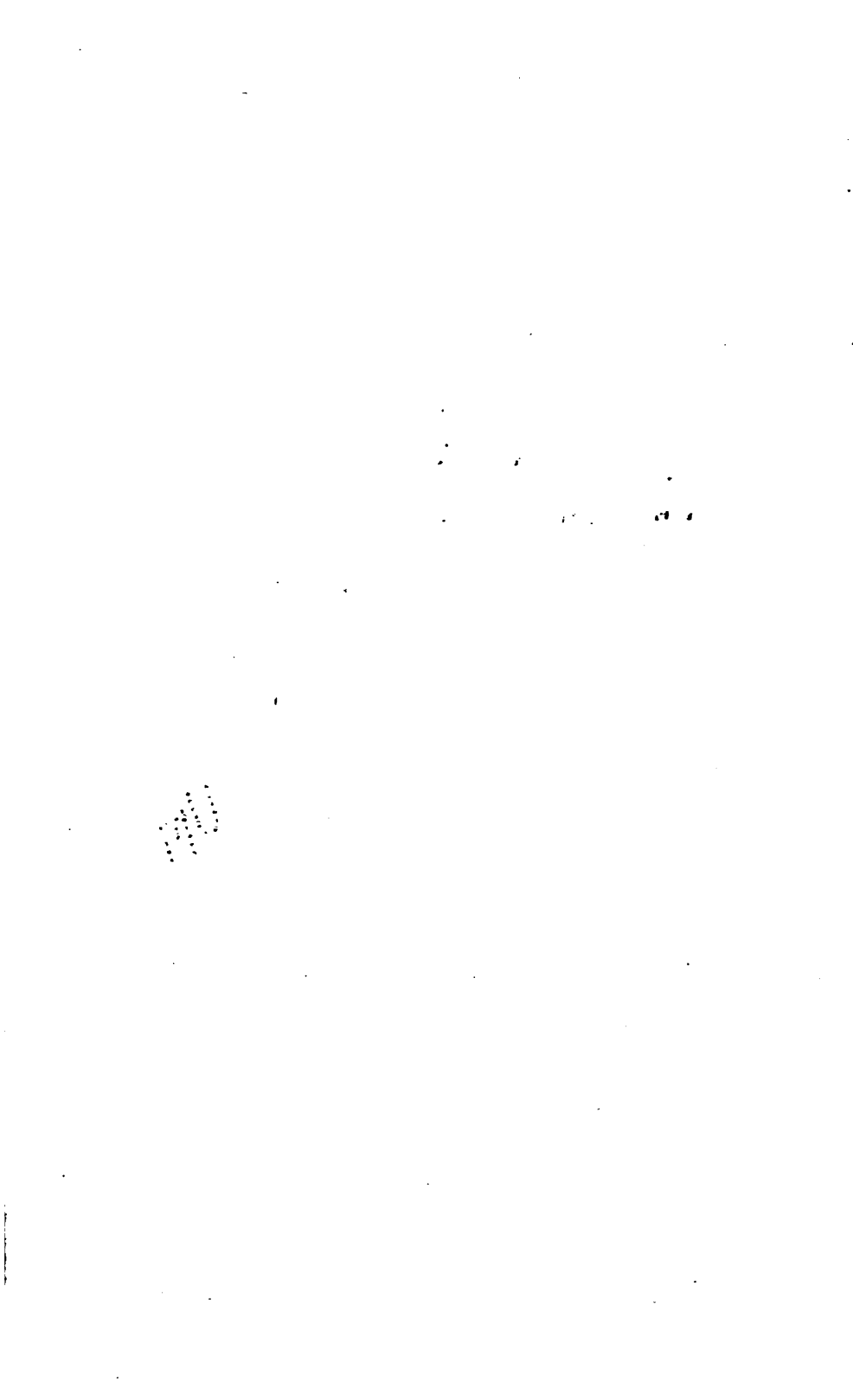
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IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

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AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.  
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\* The Articles marked with an asterisk are now, it is believed, printed for the first time.

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• A

# DECLARATION

OF THE

REVEREND FATHER IN GOD

THOMAS ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

CONCERNING

THE SLANDEROUS AND UNTRUE REPORT OF SOME,  
WHICH HAVE REPORTED, THAT HE SHOULD  
SET UP THE MASS AT CANTERBURY<sup>a</sup>.

AS the Devil, Christ's ancient adversary, is a liar and the father of lying, even so hath he stirred up his servants and members to persecute Christ and his true word and religion with lying: which he ceaseth not to do most earnestly at this present time. For as a prince of most famous memory, King Henry VIII, seeing the great abuses of the Latin mass,

MSS. Em-  
man. Coll.  
Camb.  
MSS.  
C.C.C.C.  
cv. p. 321.  
Harl. Col-  
lect. 417.

[<sup>a</sup> This Declaration is printed from a manuscript copy in the Library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, as being, on the whole, the best authority. The copies published by the English exiles 1557, by Coverdale, and by Foxe, differ much from each other. That of Foxe approaches the nearest to the manuscript here used.]

<sup>b</sup> [There can be no doubt that this Declaration was the "seditious bill" referred to in the following minute from the Council Book. On the 8th of September, 1553, "Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury appeared before the lords, as he was the day before appointed. After long and serious debating of his offence by the whole board, it was thought convenient that as well for the treason committed by him against the Queen's Majesty, as for the aggravating of the same his offence, by spreading about seditious bills moving tumults to the disquietness of the present state, he should be committed to the Tower, there to remain and be referred to justice, or further ordered as shall stand with the Queen's pleasure." Extracts from the Proceedings of the Privy Council, printed in *Archæologia*, vol. xviii. p. 175. According to Foxe, the Declaration was circulated in London on the 7th of September; according to Burnet's Latin copy, it was "lecta publice in vico mercatorum ab amico qui clam autographum surripuerat, 5 Septemb. anno Dom. 1553." See Preface.]

Coverdale, reformed some things in his time; and after, our Sovereign  
*Letters of the Mar-* Lord King Edward VI. took the same wholly away for the  
*tyrs.* great and manifold errors and abuses of the same, and restored  
 Foxe, *Acts,* in the place thereof Christ's holy Supper according to Christ's  
 &c. vol. iii. own institution, and as the Apostles used the same in the pri-  
 p. 94. mitive Church in the beginning: so the Devil goeth about  
 Cranmer's *Answer,* now by lying to overthrow the Lord's holy Supper again,  
 &c. edit. 1580. and to restore<sup>c</sup> his late satisfactory masses, a thing of his own  
 Strype, invention and device. And to bring the same more easily  
 Cranmer, to pass, some have abused the name of me, Thomas Arch-  
 p. 305. bishop of Canterbury, bruiting abroad, that I have set up  
*Acta Dis-* the mass again at Canterbury, and that I offered to say  
*putationis* mass at the burial of our late Sovereign Prince King Ed-  
*Londonen-* ward, and also that I offered to say mass before the Queen's  
*sis, &c.* Highness, and at Paul's Church, and I wot not where. And  
 edita a Va- although I have been well exercised these twenty years to  
 lerando suffer and bear evil reports and lies, and have not been  
 Pollano, much grieved thereat, but have borne all things quietly;  
 1554. yet untrue reports to the hinderance of God's truth are in no  
 Burn. *Ref.* wise to be tolerated and suffered. Wherefore these be to sig-  
 App. vol. ii. nify to the world, that it was not I that did set up the mass  
 B. ii. N<sup>o</sup>. 8. at Canterbury, but it was a false, flattering, lying, and dis-  
 simulating monk<sup>d</sup>, which caused mass to be set up there  
 without mine advice or counsel. *Reddat illi Dominus in*  
*die illo.*

And as for offering myself to say mass before the Queen's Highness or in any other place, I never did, as her Grace right well knoweth. Nor no man can say to the contrary, and speak truth, that there is any thing in the Communion set out by the most godly and innocent Prince King Edward VI. in his high court of Parliament, but that it is conformable to the order which our Saviour Christ did observe and command to be observed, and which his Apostles and the primitive Church used many years. Whereas the

<sup>c</sup> [Foxe reads "his Latin," which is supported by the Latin version in Burnet.]

<sup>d</sup> ["Whom the Archbishop afterward named to be Thornton." Foxe, *Acts*, &c. 1st edit. p. 1478.]



mass in many things not only hath no foundation of Christ's Apostles or the primitive Church, but is manifestly contrary to the same, and containeth many horrible abuses in it. And although many, unlearned or malicious, doth report, that Mr. Peter Martyr is unlearned<sup>e</sup>, yet, if the Queen's Highness will grant thereunto, I with the said Peter Martyr and other four or five which I shall choose, by God's grace will take upon us to defend, that not only the Common Prayers of the Church, the ministration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, but also that all the doctrine and religion set out by our late Sovereign Lord King Edward VI, is more pure and according to God's word, than any other doctrine that hath been used in England these thousand years: so that God's word may be the judge, and that the reasons and proofs on both parties may be set out in writing; to the intent, as well that all the world may examine and judge therein, as also that no man shall start back from his writings. And where they boast of the faith which hath been in the Church these thousand years, we will join with them in this point: for that doctrine and usage is to be followed, which was in the Church fifteen hundred years past. And we shall prove, that the order of the Church set out at this present in this realm by Act of Parliament, is the same that was used in the Church fifteen hundred years past. And so shall they never be able to prove theirs.

<sup>e</sup> [This report had been circulated, and contradicted by Cranmer two years before. See *Answer to Gardyner*, vol. iii. p. 308. and *Answer to Smythe*, vol. iii. p. 12.]

[*Disputation at Oxford with Chedsey and others,  
April, 1554<sup>a</sup>.*]

Foxe, *Acts*,  
&c. vol. iii.  
p. 44.

April 10.  
Dr. Cran-  
mer, Dr.  
Ridley, and  
Mr. Lati-  
mer sent  
down to  
Oxford to  
dispute.

About the tenth of April, Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury, Ridley Bishop of London, and Hugh Latimer Bishop also sometime of Worcester, were conveyed as prisoners from the Tower to Windsor; and after, from thence to the University of Oxford, there to dispute with the divines and learned men of both the Universities, Oxford and Cambridge, about the presence, substance, and sacrifice of the sacra-

<sup>a</sup> [This Disputation is taken from Foxe. Four notaries (two on each side) were appointed to report it, and Jewell and Gilbert Mounson acted in that capacity for Cranmer. Yet, notwithstanding this apparent fairness, Bp. Hoper and his friends, in their reasons for declining a similar disputation at Cambridge, expressed their fears, not only that they should be stopped from prosecuting their arguments, but also "that the censors and judges at their pleasure would put to and take "from that which was written by the notaries; who can not or must "not have in their custody that which they write, longer than the disputation endureth, as their doings at Oxford declareth." . . . "Yea, "if any man was seen to write, as the report is, the same man was sent "for, and his writings taken from him." Foxe however, as Strype relates, "by his diligence procured many and divers copies" of the proceedings, (among which probably was one written from memory by Cranmer himself,) and he may be supposed to have compiled his account from such as he considered the most copious and correct. The greater part of these are now lost; but there still exist in manuscript, the official report from Weston the Prolocutor, to Boner, (Harl. MSS. 3642;) some short notes of the chief arguments, in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, (340. art. 13;) and some longer ones, in the Public Library of the same University, (Kk. 5. 14.) None of these documents enter so fully into detail as Foxe, but they are of considerable use in confirming his statements. They have been consulted for this purpose, and some parts of them also have been extracted; particularly Cranmer's two Explications or Answers in the original Latin.

Several of Foxe's logical remarks have been removed from the text to the notes; some portions of his narrative have been omitted; and many errors have been corrected in the quotations. In other respects, it is hoped, his report of the Disputation will be found to have been faithfully reprinted. See Preface; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. iii. pp. 44. 100; Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 340; and compare Strype's *Grindal*, p. 18, with the marginal note of Foxe, vol. iii. p. 56.]

ment. The names of the University doctors and graduates appointed to dispute against them were these: of Oxford, Doctor Weston, Prolocutor, Doctor Tresham, Doctor Cole, Doctor Oglethorpe, Doctor Pie, Master Harpsfield, Master Fecknam. Of Cambridge, Doctor Yong, Vice-Chancellor, Doctor Glin, Doctor Seaton, Doctor Watson, Doctor Sedgewicke, Doctor Atkinson, &c.

The University doctors appointed to dispute against the Archbishop and his fellows.

On Saturday, being the 14th of April, . . . they went all to St. Mary's Church; and there, after a short consultation in a chapel, all the Commissioners came into the quire, and sat all on seats before the altar, to the number of thirty-three persons: and first they sent to the Mayor, that he should bring in Doctor Cranmer, which within a while was brought to them with a number of rusty billmen.

Another consultation of the doctors and priests.

Thus the reverend Archbishop, when he was brought before the Commissioners, revered them with much humility, and stood with his staff in his hand, who, notwithstanding having a stool offered him, refused to sit. Then the Prolocutor, sitting in the midst in a scarlet gown, began with a short preface or oration in praise of unity, and especially in the Church of Christ; declaring withal his bringing up, and taking degrees in Cambridge, and also how he was promoted by King Henry, and had been his counsellor, and a catholic man, one of the same unity, and a member thereof in times past; but of late years did separate and cut off himself from it, by teaching and setting forth of erroneous doctrine, making every year a new faith: and therefore it pleased the Queen's Grace to send them of the Convocation, and other learned men, to bring him to this unity again, if it might be. Then showed he him, how they of the Convocation-house had agreed upon certain Articles, whereunto they willed him to subscribe.

Archbishop Cranmer brought before the doctors and high priests at St. Mary's Church. The reverend humility and behaviour of the Archbishop before them.

The Archbishop answered to the preface very wittily, modestly, and learnedly, showing that he was very glad of an unity, forasmuch as it was "conservatrix omnium rerum publicarum, tam ethnicorum quam Christianorum;" i. e. "the preserver of all commonwealths, as well of the hea-

The answer of the Archbishop to Dr. Weston.

“ then as of the Christians ;” and so he dilated the matter with one or two stories of the Romans’ commonwealth. Which thing when he had done, he said, that he was very glad to come to an unity, so that it were in Christ, and agreeable to his holy word.

The Articles denied by the Archbishop.

Scarborough warning given to Cranmer to dispute.

When he had thus spoken his full mind, the Prolocutor caused the Articles<sup>b</sup> to be read unto him, and asked if he would grant and subscribe unto them. Then the Bishop of Canterbury did read them over three or four times, and touching the first Article, he asked what they meant by these terms, “ Verum et naturale ;” i. e. “ true and natural.” ‘ Do you not mean,’ saith he, ‘ Corpus organicum ;’ i. e. ‘ a sensible body ?’ Some answered, ‘ Idem quod natum est ex Virgine ;’ i. e. ‘ the same that was born of the Virgin ;’ and so confusedly some said one thing, some another. Then the Bishop of Canterbury denied it utterly ; and when he had looked upon the other two, he said they were all false, and against God’s holy word : and therefore he would not agree, he said, in that unity with them<sup>c</sup>. Which done, the Prolocutor, first willing him to write his mind of them that night, said moreover, that he should dispute in them, and caused a copy of the Articles to be delivered him, assigning him to answer thereunto on Monday next ; and so charged the Mayor with him again, to be had to Bocardo, where he was kept before ; offering moreover unto him to name what books he would occupy, and should have them brought unto him. The Archbishop was greatly

<sup>b</sup> [The following are the Articles, as given in the official report mentioned in the preceding note.

“ 1. In sacramento altaris virtute verbi Domini a sacerdote prolati, præsens est realiter sub speciebus panis et vini naturale corpus Christi conceptum de Virgine Maria. Item, naturalis ejusdem sanguis.

“ 2. Post consecrationem non remanet substantia panis et vini, neque alia ulla substantia, nisi substantia Christi, Dei et hominis.

“ 3. In missa est vivificum Ecclesiæ sacrificium pro peccatis tam vivorum quam mortuorum propitiabile.” Harl. MSS. 3642.]

<sup>c</sup> [In the above-named official report, it is said, that Cranmer “ primo eosdem articulos in forma verborum qua concipiuntur veros non esse asseruit, nihilo minus aiebat, quod si copiam eorundem articulorum et tempus perpendendi eosdem concederemus, redigere vellet in scriptis ejus ad eosdem responsum, nobisque in crastino tunc consequente die transmittere.” Harl. MSS. 3642.]

commended of every body for his modesty; insomuch that some Masters of Art were seen to weep for him, which in judgment were contrary to him.

On Sunday after, Mr. Harpsfield preached at St. Mary's, the University Church, at nine of the clock, where were divers of the doctors of the University in their robes, and placed accordingly. After the sermon they went all to dinner to Magdalen College, and there had a great dinner. They supped at Lincoln College with the Prolocutor, whither Doctor Cranmer sent answer of his mind upon the Articles in writing.

On Monday, being the 16th of April, Mr. Say and Mr. April 16.  
White, notaries, went about in the morning to the Colleges, Subscription.  
to get subscriptions to the Articles. And about eight of the clock the Prolocutor with all the doctors and the Vice-Chancellor met together at Exeter College, and so they went into the Schools; and when the Vice-Chancellor, the Prolocutor, and doctors were placed, and four appointed to be *Exceptores argumentorum* set at a table in the midst, and four *argumen- Four Ex- ceptores argumen- torum.*  
notaries sitting with them, Dr. Cranmer came to the An- Cranmer set in the  
swerer's place, the Mayor and aldermen sitting by him; Respond-  
and so the Disputation began to be set a work by the Pro- ent's place.  
locutor with a short *præludium*. Dr. Chedsey began to Dr. Cran-  
argue first, and ere he left, the Prolocutor divers times, mer closed  
Doctor Tresham, Oglethorpe, Marshall, Vice-Chancellor, Pye, in by the  
Cole, and Harpesfield did interrupt and press him with their Mayor and  
arguments; so that every man said somewhat, as the Pro- aldermen  
locutor would suffer, disorderly, sometime in Latin<sup>d</sup>, some- for running  
time in English; so that three hours of the time was spent away.  
ere the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge began, who also was Disputers  
against the  
Archbi-  
shop.

<sup>d</sup> [The official report states the previous arrangement to have been, that the Disputation should take place "scholastico more, atque concisus argumentis, et sermone Latino." It appears from the MS. in the Public Library at Cambridge, that Cole first departed from the regulations. (MSS. Kk. 5. 14.) Respecting the unfair and disorderly conduct of the disputation, see Cranmer's *Letter to the Council*, vol. i. Lett ccxcvii. Ridley's *Report*, in Foxe, *Acts, &c.* vol. iii. p. 90. Hoper's *Letter to Farrar and others*, *ibid.* p. 159. *Declaration and Confession of Faith* by divers godly preachers, *ibid.* p. 100.]

The Archbishop offered drink.

interrupted as before. He began with three or four questions subtly. Here the beadles had provided drink, and offered the Answerer; but he refused with thanks. The Prolocutor offered him, if he would make water, or otherwise ease himself, he should. Thus the Disputation continued until almost two of the clock, with this applausion *audientium*, 'Vicit veritas.' Then were all the arguments written by the four appointed, delivered into the hand of Master Say, Register. And as for the prisoner, he was had away by the Mayor; and the doctors dined together at the University College.

Dr. Cranmer after Disputation returned again to Bocardo.

And thus much concerning the general order and manner of these Disputations, with such circumstances as there happened, and things there done, as well before the Disputation, and in the preparation thereof, as also in the time of their disputing. Now followeth to infer and declare the orations, arguments, and answers, used and brought forth in the said Disputations on both parts.

*The Disputation had in the University of Oxford, the 16th of April, 1554, betwixt Doctor Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury, being Respondent, and Doctor Chedsey, Yong, and other, Opponents.*

April 16. On Monday, Doctor Weston, with all the residue of the visitors, censors, and opponents, repairing to the Divinity School, each one installed themselves in their places. Doctor Cranmer with a rout of rusty bills was brought thither also, and set in the Answerer's place, with the Mayor and aldermen sitting by him. Where Doctor Weston, Prolocutor, apparelled in a scarlet gown, after the custom of the University, began the Disputation with this oration. His words in Latin, as he spake them, were these:

Dr. Weston speaketh truer than he wist.

'Convenistis hodie, fratres, profligaturi detestandam illam hæresin de veritate corporis Christi in sacramento,' &c.; that is, 'Ye are assembled hither, brethren, this day, to confound the detestable heresy of the verity of the body of Christ in the sacrament,' &c. At which words, thus pronounced of the Prolocutor unawares, divers of the learned

men there present, considering and well weighing the words by him uttered, burst out into a great laughter, as though even in the entrance of the Disputations he had bewrayed himself and his religion, that termed the opinion of the verity of Christ's body in the sacrament a detestable heresy. The rest of his oration tended all to this effect, that it was not lawful by God's word to call these questions into controversy: for such as doubted of the words of Christ, might well be thought to doubt both of the truth and power of God. Whereunto Doctor Cranmer, desiring license, answered in this wise.

*Cran.* We are assembled, saith he, to discuss these doubtful controversies, and to lay them open before the eyes of the world; whereof ye think it unlawful to dispute. It is indeed no reason, saith he, that we should dispute of that which is determined upon before the truth be tried. But if these questions be not called into controversy, surely mine answer then is looked for in vain. This was the sum and effect of his answer; and this done he prepared himself to disputation.

Then Chedsey, the first Opponent, began in this wise to dispute.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>c</sup> [It may be doubted whether the commencement of this Disputation is properly arranged by Foxe. The several parts of it do not hang well together; and both the manuscript in the Public Library at Cambridge, and a fragment printed at Oxford in 1688, though they do not furnish sufficient materials for positively fixing a new order, strengthen the doubt respecting the correctness of the old one. The following is the fragment referred to: it is attached to a copy of Ridley's Disputation.

*Chedsey*, post recitatam præfationem attulit consensum Evangelistarum Matt. xxvi. Marc. xiv. Luc. xxii. 'Ergo,' inquit, 'verum est "corpus, et verus sanguis, nam in duorum aut trium testium stat "omnis veritas.'

*Cran.* 'Verum corpus esse fateor et verum sanguinem de quibus "mentionem faciunt Evangelistæ; nempe corpus vere crucifixum, et "sanguis vere fusus. Sed panem appellavit illud verum corpus, et "vinum sanguinem verum, sed figurata locutione, quia sacramentum "institutebat corporis occisi, et sanguinis fusi.' Atque huc referebat "totius rei definitionem, et pro ampliori solutione exhibuit quoddam "scriptum.

*Cheds.* 'Ergo vocatione et significatione erat corpus, et non vere; "sed Christus illud quod tradebatur vocavit corpus suum; sed panis "non tradebatur; Ergo panem non vocavit corpus suum.'

*Cran.* 'Nego Majorem; non enim quod tradebatur vocavit corpus "suum, sed panem vocavit verum corpus suum quod tradebatur. Ergo

Dr. Cranmer's answer to the preface.

Dr. Chedsey.

Articles. Reverend Mr. Doctor, these three conclusions are put forth unto us at this present to dispute upon.

“ 1. In the sacrament of the altar is the natural body of Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, and also his blood present really, under the forms of bread and wine, by virtue of God’s word pronounced by the priest.

“ 2. There remaineth no substance of bread and wine after the consecration, nor any other substance but the substance of God and man.

“ 3. The lively sacrifice of the Church is in the mass propitiatory as well for the quick as the dead.”

These be the conclusions propounded, whereupon this our present controversy doth rest. Now to the end we might not doubt how you take the same, you have already given up unto us your opinion thereof. I term it your opinion, in that it disagreeeth from the catholic. Wherefore thus I argue :

Argument. Your opinion differeth from the Scripture :

*Ergo*, You are deceived.

*Cran.* I deny the Antecedent.

*Ched.* Christ, when he instituted his last supper, spake to his disciples, *Take, eat ; this is my body which shall be given for you ;*

But his true body was given for us :

*Ergo*, His true body is in the sacrament <sup>f</sup>.

Answer. *Cran.* His true body is truly present to them that truly receive him ; but spiritually. And so it is taken after a

“ ‘ panis fractus sacramentum est passionis, et repræsentat corpus Jesu  
“ ‘ in mortem pro nobis traditum, et ideo vocatur nomine corporis traditi.’

“ Chedsey rursus urget verba Evangelistarum, *Hoc est corpus meum, Hic est sanguis meus.* Cætera desunt.”

Perhaps what is called Cranmer’s first Explication may be the answer sent in on Saturday. (See p. 7.) Chedsey may have opened his argument by referring to it: Cranmer may then have presented his second and fuller Explication: and the dispute between them, which is now placed before the delivery of this paper, may in fact have followed it. See however p. 13. note (i).]

<sup>f</sup> The right form of this argument is thus to be framed.

*Da-* The same which was given for us, is in the sacrament ;

*ri-* But his true body was given for us :

*i.* *Ergo*, His true body is in the sacrament.



spiritual sort. For when he said, *This is my body*, it is all one as if he had said, *This is the breaking of my body*; this is the shedding of my blood: as oft as you shall do this, it shall put you in remembrance of the breaking of my body, and the shedding of my blood; that as truly as you receive this sacrament, so truly shall you receive the benefit promised by receiving the same worthily.

*Ched.* Your opinion differeth from the Church, which saith, that the true body is in the sacrament: *Ergo*, Your opinion therein is false.

How  
Christ's  
body is  
present in  
the sacra-  
ment.

Argument  
of the au-  
thority of  
the Church.

*Cran.* I say and agree with the Church, that the body of Christ is in the sacrament effectually, because the passion of Christ is effectual.

Answer.

*Ched.* Christ, when he spake these words, *This is my body*, spake of the substance, but not of the effect.

*Cran.* I grant he spake of the substance, and not of the effect, after a sort: and yet it is most true, that the body of Christ is effectually in the sacrament. But I deny that he is there truly present in bread, or that under the bread is his organical body. And because it should be too tedious, he said, to make discourse of the whole, he delivered up there his opinion thereof to Doctor Weston, written at large, with answers to every one of their three propositions; which he desired Doctor Weston, sitting there on high, to read openly to the people; which he promised to do. But it was not the first promise that such papists have broken.

Christ's  
body effec-  
tually, not  
substan-  
tially in the  
sacrament.

Papists  
false of  
promise.

The copy of this writing, although it were not there read, yet the contents thereof we have drawn out as followeth.

*An Explication of Cranmer upon the aforesaid conclusions, exhibited in writings.*

*Cranmer.* In the assertions of the Church and of religion, trifling and new fangled novelties of words, so much as may

The con-  
tents of  
Cranmer's

§ [The original Latin of this Explication is subjoined, from the official report in the British Museum. The first Article seems to have been subdivided. See p. 6.]

“ *Doctor Cranmerus.*

“ In ecclesiasticis dogmatibus immanes vocum novitates (quoad licet)

Explication given up in writing. be, are to be eschewed, whereof riseth nothing but contention and brawling about words; and we must follow, so much as we may, the manner of speaking of the Scripture.

How Christ is really present. In the first conclusion, if ye understand by this word "really," "re ipsa," i. e. "in very deed and effectually," so Christ, by the grace and efficacy of his passion, is in deed and truly present to all his true and holy members.

But if ye understand by this word "really," "corporaliter," i. e. "corporally," so that by the body of Christ is understood a natural body and organical<sup>b</sup>; so the first proposition doth vary, not only from the usual speech and phrase of Scripture, but also is clean contrary to the holy word of God and Christian profession: when as both the Scripture doth testify by these words, and also the catholic Church hath professed from the beginning, Christ to have left the world, and to sit at the right hand of the Father till he come to judgment.

Answer to the second conclusion. And likewise I answer to the second question; that is, that it swerveth from the accustomed manner and speech of Scripture.

Answer to the third conclusion. The third conclusion, as it is intricate and wrapped in all doubtful and ambiguous words, and differing also much from

"fugiendæ sunt (ex quibus oriuntur contentiones et pugnæ verborum) et Scripturæ loquendi modus maxime imitandus est.

"In prima conclusione, si per verbum 'realiter' intelligatur 're ipsa' 'et effectualiter,' sic Christus cum passionis suæ gratia et effectu ad-  
"est omnibus vere piis et sanctis illius membris. Sin per 'realiter' in-  
"telligatur 'corporaliter,' et per 'Christi corpus' intelligatur 'corpus  
"naturale et organicum,' prima propositio non tantum a more loquendi  
"sacræ Scripturæ aliena est, sed etiam sancto Dei verbo et professioni  
"Christianæ plane contraria, quum Christum hoc modo mundum reli-  
"quisset ac ad dexteram Patris usque ad iudicium sedere, et testantur  
"Scripturæ et ab initio professa est Ecclesia catholica.

"Ad secundam conclusionem similiter respondeo.

"Tertia quoque conclusio prorsus aliena est et a Scripturæ locutione et veritate.

"Quarta demum conclusio, ut ambiguis vocibus obvoluta est et a Scripturæ loquendi phrasi ac veritate longe diversa, ita, ut verba ipsa  
"proprium sensum habent, in Servatorem nostrum unicum Jesum Chris-  
"tum summe contumeliosa est, et sanguinis illius pretiosissimi concul-  
"catio: cujus effusio in sanctissima ara crucis, unicum est totius mundi  
"sacrificium et oblatio pro omnibus omnium hominum peccatis." Harl. MSS. 3642.]

<sup>b</sup> Organical is called that which is a perfect body, having all the members and parts complete belonging unto the same.

the true speech of the Scripture, so, as the words thereof seem to import in open sense, it is most contumelious against our only Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus, and a violating of his precious blood, which upon the holy altar of the cross is the only sacrifice and oblation for the sins of all mankind.

The third conclusion contumelious against Christ.

*Ched.* By this your interpretation which you have made upon the first conclusion, this I understand; the body of Christ to be in the sacrament only by the way of participation; insomuch as we communicating thereof, do participate the grace of Christ; so that you mean hereby only the effect thereof. But our conclusion standeth upon the substance, and not the efficacy only, which shall appear by the testimony both of Scriptures and of all the Fathers a thousand years after Christ.

And first, to begin with the Scripture, let us consider what is written in Matt. xxvi. Mark xiv. Luke xxii. and 1 Cor. xi. Matthew saith, *As they sat at supper, Jesus took bread, &c.* In Mark there is the same sense, although not the same words; who also for one part of the sacrament speaketh more plainly, *Jesus taking bread, &c.* After the same sense also writeth Luke, xxii. *And when Jesus had taken bread, &c.* In the mouth of two or three witnesses, saith the Scripture, standeth all truth. Here we have three witnesses together, that Christ said that to be his body, which was given for many; and that to be his blood, which should be shed for many; whereby is declared the substance, and not only the efficacy alone thereof. *Ergo*, it is not true that you say, there to be not the substance of his body, but the efficacy alone thereof.

*Cran.* Thus you gather upon mine answer, as though I did mean of the efficacy, and not of the substance of the body; but I mean of them both, as well of the efficacy as of the substance. And forsomuch as all things come not readily to memory, to a man that shall speak extempore, therefore, for the more ample and fuller answer in this matter, this writing here I do exhibit<sup>i</sup>.

Substance and efficacy both granted in the sacrament.

[<sup>i</sup> The manuscript in the Public Library at Cambridge mentions the presentation during the Disputation of *one* paper only. This excites a

*<sup>k</sup> An Explication exhibited by Cranmer.*

Another  
Explication  
for answer,  
exhibited  
in writing  
by the  
Archbi-  
shop.

The final  
cause why  
the Supper  
was or-  
dained.

1. Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, at the time of his maundy, preparing himself to die for our cause, that he might redeem us from eternal death, to forgive us all our sins, and to cancel out the handwriting that was against us; that we through ungrateful oblivion should not forget his death, therefore at the time of his holy supper did institute a perpetual memory of this his death, to be celebrated among Christians in bread and wine; according as it is said, *Do this in remembrance of me: and, So often as you shall eat this bread, and drink this cup, you shall show forth the Lord's death till he come.* And this remembrance or sacrament of his holy passion, that is, of his body slain, and blood shed, he would all Christians to frequent and celebrate in bread and wine; according as he said, *Take, eat, and drink ye all of this.* Therefore whosoever for

suspicion, that the other was the Answer sent in on the preceding Saturday. (See p. 7, and 10, note.) And the suspicion is confirmed by the silence of the official report respecting any other written answer to the Articles, excepting the two Explications. But, on the other side it may be argued, that the notaries would transmit those papers only which were delivered publicly; and it would also appear from the same Cambridge manuscript, that the Answer of Saturday contained expressions not to be found in either of the Explications. See MSS. Cambr. Libr. Kk. 5. 14.]

<sup>k</sup> [The following copy of this Explication in the original Latin is taken from the official report in the British Museum. Collier has printed it, vol. ii. N<sup>o</sup>. 71, apparently from the same manuscript. There is also another, but less correct manuscript copy in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 340. p. 266; where it is entitled, *Præfatio et protestatio Thomæ Cranmeri scripta et tradita propria manu in schola publica.* A similar title is prefixed to an English translation by Grindal in the Harl. MSS. 422. f. 44.

*" Responsio domini Cranmeri ad articulos supra recitados, in scriptis  
" exhibita et per eum subscripta.*

Harl. MSS. 3642. " 1. Dominus et Servator noster Jesus Christus in sancta Parasceue

" nostra causa obiturus, ut nos a morte redimeret eterna, condonaret  
" omnia delicta, ac chirographum quod contra nos erat deleret, ne  
" mortis suæ ingrati unquam oblivisceremur, perpetuam illius memo-  
" riam apud Christianos in pane et vino celebrandam pridie passionis  
" in sacratissima sua instituebat cœna; juxta illud: *Hoc facite in mei*  
" *memoriam: et, Quotiescunque manducabitis panem hunc et calicem bi-*  
" *betis, mortem Domini annuntiabitis donec veniat.* Atque hanc passionis  
" suæ, id est, cæsi corporis et fusi sanguinis in pane et vino memo-  
" riam sive sacramentum omnes Christianos jussit sumere, juxta illud:  
" *Accipite, et manducate, et bibite ex hoc omnes.* Quicunque igitur prop-

man's tradition denieth the cup of Christ's blood to laymen, they manifestly repugn against Christ, forbidding that which Christ commandeth to be done, and be like to those Scribes and Pharisees of whom the Lord spake, *Ye hypocrites, ye have rejected the commandments of God for your traditions. Well did Esay prophesy of you, saying, This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. Without cause do they worship me, teaching the doctrines and precepts of men.* The sacrament and mystical bread being broken and distributed after the institution of Christ, and the mystical wine being likewise taken and received, be not only sacraments of the flesh of Christ wounded for us, and of his bloodshedding, but also be most certain sacraments to us, and, as a man would say, seals of God's promises and gifts, and also of that holy fellowship which we have with Christ and all his members. Moreover, they be to us memorials of that heavenly food and nourishment, wherewith we are nourished unto eternal life, and the thirst of our boiling conscience quenched, and, finally, whereby the hearts of the faithful be replenished with unspeakable joy, and be corroborated and strengthened unto all works of godliness. *We are many, saith St. Paul, one bread, and one body, all we which do participate of one bread and one cup.* And Christ saith, *Eat ye; this is my body.* And, *Drink ye; this is my blood.* And, *I am the living bread*

Matt. xv.  
Luke vii.  
1 Cor. x.  
Matt. xxvi.  
John vi.

Sacraments, seals of God's promises.

“ter traditionem humanam laicis sanguinis poculum denegant, palam  
 “Christo repugnant, prohibentes fieri, quod Christus fieri jussit, et si-  
 “miles sunt Scribis illis ac Phariseis, de quibus Dominus dicebat, *Ir-  
 “ritum fecistis mandatum Dei propter traditionem vestram. Hypocritæ,  
 “bene prophetavit de vobis Esaias, dicens, Populus hic labiis me hono-  
 “rat; cor autem eorum longe est a me. Sine causa autem colunt me, do-  
 “centes doctrinas mandata hominum.* Panis ille sacramentalis seu mys-  
 “ticus, fractus et distributus juxta Christi institutionem, et vinum  
 “mysticum eodem modo haustum et acceptum, non tantum sacramenta  
 “sunt vulneratæ pro nobis carnis Christi, et fusi cruoris, sed certissima  
 “sunt nobis sacramenta, et quasi signacula divinarum promissionum  
 “ac donorum; ut, communionis nostræ cum Christo ac omnibus mem-  
 “bris ejus; celestis nutritionis, qua alimur ad vitam æternam æstuan-  
 “tisque conscientiæ sitis restinguitur; ineffabilis lætitiæ, qua fidelium  
 “corda perfunduntur, et ad omnia pietatis officia roborantur. *Unus  
 “panis, inquit Paulus, et unum corpus multi sumus, omnes qui de uno  
 “pane et de uno calice participamus.* Et, *Manducate, inquit Christus,  
 “hoc est corpus meum; bibite, hic est sanguis meus.* Et, *Ego sum panis*

*which came down from heaven. He that eateth me shall also live for ever—Not as your fathers did eat manna in the desert, and are dead. He that eateth me shall also live for ever.* Thus therefore true bread and true wine remain still in the Eucharist, until they be consumed of the faithful, to be signs, and as seals unto us, annexed unto God's promises, making us certain of God's gifts towards us. Also Christ remaineth in them, and they in Christ, which eat his flesh, and drink his blood, as Christ himself hath promised: *They that eat my flesh, and drink my blood, abide in me, and I in them.* Moreover, he abideth also in them which worthily receive the outward sacrament; neither doth he depart so soon as the sacrament is consumed, but continually abideth, feeding and nourishing us so long as we remain bodies of that Head, and members of the same. I acknowledge not here the natural body of Christ, which is only spiritual, intelligible, and unsensible, having no distinction of members and parts in it: but that body only I acknowledge and worship, which was born of the Virgin, which suffered for us, which is visible, palpable, and hath all the form and shape and parts of the true natural body of man.

Christ's words are spoken, not of an un-

2. Christ spake not these words of any uncertain substance, but of the certain substance of bread, which he then held in his hands, and showed to his disciples, when he said,

*“vivus qui de cælo descendit. Qui manducat me, et ipse vivet propter me. Manent igitur in Eucharistia, donec a fidelibus consumantur, verus panis verumque vinum: ut quasi signacula divinis promissionibus affixa divinorum donorum nos efficiant certiores. Manet et Christus in illis, et illi in Christo, qui illius carnem edunt et sanguinem bibunt, sicut Christus promisit: Qui manducat meam carnem, et bibit meum sanguinem, in me manet, et ego in eo. Manet denique et Christus in illis, qui digne externum sacramentum suscipiunt, et non discedit statim consumpto sacramento, sed continuo manet, nos pascens et nutriens, quam diu nos illius capitis corpora manemus et membra. Nullum agnosco corpus Christi naturale, quod solum spirituale sit, intellectuale, et insensibile, quod nullis membris, aut partibus sit distinctum: sed illud tantum corpus agnosco ac veneror, quod ex Virgine natum est, quod pro nobis passum est, quod visibile, palpabile, ac omnibus humani ac organici corporis formis in partibus absolutum est.*

“2. Christus non de substantia aliqua incerta, sed de substantia certa panis, quem et manibus tenebat, et discipulorum oculis demonstrabat,

*Eat ye; this is my body*: and likewise of the cup, when he said, *Drink ye; this is my blood*: meaning verily of that bread which by nature is usual and common with us, which is taken of the fruit of the ground, compacted by the uniting of many grains together, made by man, and by man's hand brought to that visible shape, being of round compass, and without all sense or life, which nourisheth the body, and strengtheneth the heart of man: of this same bread, I say, and not of any uncertain and wandering substance, the old Fathers say that Christ spake these words, *Eat ye; this is my body*. And likewise also of the wine, which is the creature and fruit of the vine, pressed out of many clusters of grapes, and maketh man's heart merry: of the very same wine, I say, Christ spake, *Drink ye; this is my blood*.

And so the old doctors do call this speaking of Christ tropical, figurative, anagogical, allegorical; which they do interpret after this sort, that although the substance of bread and wine do remain, and be received of the faithful, yet notwithstanding, Christ changed the appellation thereof, and called the bread by the name of his flesh, and the wine by the name of his blood, "non rei veritate, sed significante mysterio;" i. e. "not that it is so in very deed, but signified in a mystery:" so that we should consider, not what they be in their own nature, but what they import to us and signify; and should understand the sacrament, not

certain substance, but of a certain substance of bread, which he had in his hands.

How the doctors do take the speech of Christ. Tropical, figurative, anagogical, allegorical. Bread called by the name of the body.

In the sacrament is to be considered, not

"dixit: *Comedite, hoc est corpus meum*. Et similiter de vero vino dixit; *Hic est sanguis meus*. Nimirum de pane, qui est creatura hujus conditionis quæ est secundum nos, qui ex fructibus terræ acceptus est, de multorum granorum adunitione congestus, qui ab hominibus fit, et per manus hominum ad illam visibilem speciem perducitur, qui rotundæ est figuræ sensusque omnis expertus, qui corpus nutrit et confortat cor hominis: de tali, inquam, pane, non de substantia aliqua incerta et vaga, aiunt veteres Christum dixisse: *Comedite, hoc est corpus meum*. Perinde ac de vino, quod est creatura vitis, fructus vitis, de botris atque acinis plurimis expressa, et lætificat cor hominis, dicebat Christus: *Bibite, hic est sanguis meus*. Adeoque Christi locutionem vocant veteres figuratam, tropicam, anagogicam, allegoricam, quod ita interpretati sunt, ut quamvis panis vinique substantia maneat, et a fidelibus sumatur, Christus tamen ideo appellationem mutavit, et panem quidem carnis, vinum vero sanguinis nomine appellavit, non rei veritate, sed significante mysterio: ut non quid sint, sed quæ ostendant, consideraremus, non carnaliter, sed spiritualiter

what it is  
in nature,  
but what it  
signifieth in  
mystery.

The sacra-  
ment is a  
memorial,  
a pledge, a  
token, a  
sacrament,  
and a seal.

carnally, but spiritually; and should attend, not to the visible nature of the sacraments, neither have respect only to the outward bread and cup, thinking to see there with our eyes no other things but only bread and wine; but that, lifting up our minds, we should look up to the blood of Christ with our faith, should touch him with our mind, and receive him with our inward man; and that, being like eagles in this life, we should fly up into heaven in our hearts, where that Lamb is resident at the right hand of his Father, which taketh away the sins of the world; by whose stripes we are made whole; by whose passion we are filled at his table; and whose blood we receiving out of his holy side do live for ever; being made the guests of Christ, having him dwelling in us through the grace of his true nature, and through the virtue and efficacy of his whole passion; being no less assured and certified that we are fed spiritually unto eternal life by Christ's flesh crucified, and by his blood shed, the true food of our minds, than that our bodies be fed with meat and drink in this life: and hereof this said mystical bread on the table of Christ, and the mystical wine, being administered and received after the institution of Christ, be to us a memorial, a pledge, a token, a sacrament, and a seal. And thereof is it that Christ saith not thus; *This is my body; eat ye:* but after he had bidden them eat, then he said, *This is my body, which shall be*

“ sacramenta intelligeremus, non ad visibilem sacramentorum naturam  
“ attenderemus, non humiliter ad panem et poculum intenti essemus,  
“ non putaremus nos nihil quam oculis panem et vinum videre, sed  
“ exaltatis mentibus Christi corpus et sanguinem aspicere fide,  
“ mente contingeremus, atque interiore homine hauriremus: ut aquilæ  
“ in hac vita facti ad ipsum cælum sursum cordibus evolemus, ubi ad  
“ dexteram Patris residet Agnus ille, qui tollit peccata mundi, cujus  
“ amore sanamur, cujus passione in hac mensa satiamur, cujus sangui-  
“ nem e divino illius latere haurientes æternum vivimus, Christique  
“ hospites effecti, ipsum in nobis veræ naturæ gratia virtuteque ac totius  
“ passionis efficacia habitantem habemus: nec minus certi efficimur,  
“ Christi carne crucifixa et fuso cruore, necessario animorum pabulo,  
“ nos spiritualiter pasci ad vitam æternam, quam cibo et potu in hac  
“ vita corpora pascuntur. Atque hujus rei *μυστικόν*, pignus, symbo-  
“ lum, sacramentum, signaculum nobis sunt, mysticus in Christi mensa  
“ panis mysticumque vinum juxta Christi institutionem administrata  
“ et accepta. Hinc est quod Christus non dixit, *Hoc est corpus meum,*  
“ *edite:* sed ubi jussisset edere, postea addidit, *Hoc est corpus meum,*



*given for you.* Which is to mean, as though he should say, 'In eating of this bread, consider you that this bread <sup>What is meant by eating the mystical bread.</sup> is no common thing, but a mystical matter; neither do you attend that which is set before your bodily eyes, but what feedeth you within. Consider and behold my body crucified for you; that eat and digest in your minds. Chew you upon my passion, be fed with my death; this is the true meat, this is the drink that moisteneth, where-with you being truly fed and inebriate shall live for ever. The bread and the wine which be set before your eyes are only declarations of me, but I myself am the eternal food. Wherefore, whensoever at this my table you shall behold <sup>What the crucified body of Christ doth to our souls.</sup> the sacraments, have not regard so much to them, as consider ye what I promise to you by them, which is myself, to be meat for you of eternal life.'

3. The only oblation of Christ (wherewith he offered himself to God the Father once to death upon the altar of the cross for our redemption) was of such efficacy, that there is no more need of any sacrifice for the redemption of the whole world, but all the sacrifices of the old <sup>The sacrifice of Christ's body once, sufficient for all.</sup> law he took away, performing that in very deed which they did signify and promise. Whosoever therefore shall fix the hope of his salvation in any other sacrifice, he falleth from the grace of Christ, and is contumelious against the blood of Christ. For *he was wounded for our transgres-* Essay liii.

*quod pro vobis tradetur.* Quod perinde est, ac si dixisset, 'In edendo hoc pane, considerate illum non communem esse, sed mysticum; non aspicite quod corporeis oculis vestris proponitur, sed quid intus vos pascat. Considerate corpus meum pro vobis cruci affixum, hoc animis vestris devorate, satiemini morte mea. Hic verus est cibus, hic inebrians potus, quo vere saturati et inebriati æternum vivetis. Quæ ob oculos vobis proponuntur, panis et vinum, mei duntaxat symbola sunt, ego vero ipse æternus pastus sum. Proinde cum in mensam mea sacramenta aspicietis, non tam ad illa respicite, quam quid per ea vobis pollicear, nempe meipsum pabulum vitæ æternæ.'

"3. Christi unica oblatio, qua seipsum Deo Patri obtulit in mortem semel in ara crucis pro nostra redemptione, tantæ fuit efficaciæ, ut nullo alio sacrificio opus sit pro totius mundi redemptione. Sed omnia veteris legis sacrificia sustulit, id re vera præstans quod illa figurabant et promittebant. Quisquis igitur salutis suæ spem in ullo alio constituerit sacrificio, is a Christi excidit gratia, et contumeliosus est in sanctum Christi sanguinem. *Ipsæ enim vulneratus est propter iniqui-*

*sions, and was broken for our iniquities.—All we like sheep have wandered astray; every man hath turned after his own way; and the Lord hath laid all our iniquities upon him.—For he hath entered once for all into the holy place, by the blood, not of goats or calves, but by his own blood, finding eternal redemption.—And hath entered into heaven, to appear now in the sight of God for us: not to offer himself oftentimes: (for so should he have suffered many times:) but now hath he appeared once to put away sin through his own oblation. And as it is appointed to all men once to die, so also Christ once was offered.—Who offering up one oblation for sins, sitteth now for ever on the right hand of God.—For by one oblation hath he made perfect for ever those that be sanctified. For where is remission of sins, there is now no oblation for sin, but this only sacrifice of Christ. Whosoever shall seek any other sacrifice propitiatory for sin, maketh the sacrifice of Christ of no validity, force, or efficacy. For if that be sufficient to remit sins, what need is there of any other? for the necessity of another argueth and declareth this to be insufficient. Almighty God grant that we may truly lean to one sacrifice of Christ, and that we to him again may repay our sacrifices of thanksgiving, of praise, of confessing his name, of true*

Heb. ix.

Heb. ix. 27.

Heb. x. 12.

No sacrifice now for sin but one.

Christ sacrificed once for sin; we sa-

*“ tates nostras, attritus est propter scelera nostra.—Omnes nos quasi oves  
 “ erravimus, unusquisque in viam suam declinavit; et posuit Dominus  
 “ in eo iniquitates omnium nostrorum.—Ille enim non per sanguinem hir-  
 “ corum aut vitulorum, sed per proprium sanguinem introivit semel in  
 “ sancta, æterna redemptione inventa. Et in ipsum cælum intravit, ut  
 “ appareret nunc vultui Dei pro nobis, non ut sæpe efferat seipsum: alio-  
 “ qui oportebat eum frequenter pati: nunc autem semel ad destructionem  
 “ peccati, per hostiam suam apparuit. Et quemadmodum constitutum est  
 “ hominibus semel mori, sic et Christus semel oblatus est.—Ille unam offe-  
 “ rens pro peccatis hostiam in sempiternum sedet in dextra Dei.—Una  
 “ enim oblatione consummavit in sempiternum sanctificatos. Ubi enim  
 “ peccatorum remissio est, jam non est amplius oblatio pro peccato. Prop-  
 “ ter<sup>1</sup> hoc Christi sacrificium quisquis aliud quæsierit pro peccatis sa-  
 “ crificium propitiatis, invalidum et inefficax efficit Christi sacrificium.  
 “ Si enim hoc ad remittenda peccata sufficiens est, alio non est opus;  
 “ alterius enim necessitas hujus arguit infirmitatem ac insufficientiam.  
 “ Faxit Deus Omnipotens ut uni Christi sacrificio vere innitamur,  
 “ ac illi rursus rependamus sacrificia nostra, gratiarum actiones, laudis,  
 “ confessionis nominis sui, veræ resipiscentiæ ac pœnitentiæ, benefi-*

<sup>1</sup> “Præter.” MS. C. C. C. C.

amendment, of repentance, of mercifulness towards our neighbours, and of all other good works of charity. For by such sacrifices we shall declare ourselves neither ungrateful to God, nor altogether unworthy of this holy sacrifice of Christ.

crifice daily  
by thanks-  
giving and  
thankful  
works of  
charity.

And thus you have, out of the testimonies of holy Scripture and of the ancient doctors of the Church, the true and sincere use of the Lord's holy Supper, and the fruit of the true sacrifice of Christ: which whosoever, through captious or wrested interpretations, or by men's traditions, shall go about, otherwise than Christ ordained them, to alter or transubstantiate, he shall answer to Christ in the latter day, when he shall understand (but then too late) that he hath no participation with the body and blood of Christ, but that out of the Supper of eternal life he hath eaten and drunken eternal damnation to himself.

*West.* Because we will not consume and spend the time in waste, this your writing which you exhibit, hereafter shall be read in his place. In the mean season let us now fall to the arguments.

*Ched.* The Scriptures in many places do affirm, that Christ gave his natural body, Matthew xxvi. Mark xiv. Luke xxii:

Argument.

*Ergo*, I do conclude that the natural body is in the sacrament.

*Cran.* To your argument I answer, If you understand by the body natural, "organicum," that is, having such

Answer.

"centiæ in proximos, aliorumque omnium pietatis officiorum. Talibus enim sacrificiis exhibebimus nos nec in Deum ingratos, nec Christi sacrificio indignos.

"Ecce habetis ex sacrarum Scripturarum et veterum Ecclesiæ doctorum sententia, verum et sincerum Dominicæ cœnæ usum, ac veri sacrificii Christi fructum. Quæ quisquis tortis interpretationibus aut humanis traditionibus aliter quam Christus ordinavit mutare aut transubstantiare voluerit, ipse respondebit Christo in novissimo die, quando intelliget, sed sero nimis, nihil sibi cum Christi corpore esse et sanguine, sed ex æternæ vitæ cœna se æternam damnationem manducasse ac bibisse.

"Thomas Cranmer."

proportion and members as he had living here, then I answer negatively.

Furthermore, concerning the Evangelists, thus I say and grant, that Christ took bread, and called it his body.

*Ched.* The text of the Scripture maketh against you ; for the circumstance thereto annexed doth teach us, not only there to be the body, but also teacheth us what manner of body it is, and saith, The same body which shall be given.

*Argument.* That thing is here contained that is given for us ;

But the substance of bread is not given for us :

*Ergo*, the substance of bread is not here contained.

*Answer.*

This word  
"contain-  
"ed" dis-  
tinguished.  
The body  
of Christ  
contained  
not really,  
but sacra-  
mentally.  
Christ saith  
not, 'This  
'is my body  
'which is  
'here con-  
'tained ;'  
but, *This  
is my body  
which shall  
be given  
for you.*

*Cran.* I understand not yet what you mean by this word "contained : " if ye mean really, then I deny your Major.

*Ched.* The Major is the text of Scripture. He that denieth the Major, denieth the Scripture : for the Scripture saith, *This is my body which shall be given for you.*

*Cran.* I grant he said it was his body that should be given, but he said not it was his body which is here contained, *but the body*, saith he, *that shall be given for you.*

As though he should say, 'This bread is the breaking of my body, and this cup is the shedding of my blood.' What will ye say then ? Is the bread the breaking of his body, and the cup the shedding of his blood, really ? If you say so, I deny it.

*Ched.* If you ask what is the thing therein contained ; because his Apostles should not doubt what body it was that should be given, he saith, *This is my body which shall be given for you*, and *my blood which shall be shed for many*. *Ergo*, here is the same substance of the body which the day after was given, and the same blood which was shed. And here I urge the Scripture, which teacheth that it was no phantastical, no feigned, no spiritual body, nor body in faith, but the substance of the body.

*Cran.* You must prove that it is contained ; but Christ said not, 'which is contained.' He gave bread, and called that his body. I stick not in the words of the Scripture, but in your word, which is feigned and imagined of yourself.

*Ched.* When Christ took bread and brake it, what gave he?

*Cran.* He gave bread. The bread sacramentally, and his body spiritually; and the bread there he called his body.

*Ched.* This answer is against the Scripture, which saith, that he gave his body.

*Cran.* It was a signifying thing that they did eat.

*Ched.* They did not eat the body as the Capernaïtes did understand it, but the selfsame body which was given for the sins of the world: *Ergo*, It was his body which should be given, and his blood which should be shed <sup>m</sup>.

When Master Chedsey had put forth his argument, and prosecuted the same, and Doctor Cranmer answered as before is showed, Doctor Oglethorpe, one of those doctors which the Prolocutor called *Censores*, (belike to be Arbiters, to order the disputations,) said on this wise.

*Ogle.* You come in still with one evasion or starting-hole to flee to. He urgeth the Scriptures, saying that Christ gave his very body. You say that he gave his body in bread. Quomodo prædicatur corpus? qualis est corpus? qualis est prædicatio? panis est corpus<sup>n</sup>. Dr. Oglethorpe breaketh Priscian's head, and speaketh false Latin.

*Cran.* You should say, 'Quale corpus.' I answer to the question; it is the same body which was born of the Virgin, was crucified, ascended; but tropically, and by a figure. And so I say, 'Panis est corpus' is a figurative speech, speaking sacramentally; for it is a sacrament of his body. Cranmer answereth to Oglethorpe.

*Ogle.* This word "body," being *prædicatum*, doth signify substance;

But *substantia* is not predicated denominatively:

<sup>m</sup> In some other copies I find this argument to be made by Chedsey:

*Ba.* The same body is in the sacrament, which was given for us on the Argument. cross;

*ro.* But bread was not given on the cross for us:

*co.* *Ergo*, Bread is not given in the sacrament.

*Cran.* I deny the Major; which is, that the same natural body is given in the sacrament, which was given on the cross, except you understand it spiritually. And after, he denied also the argument as utterly naught, as he well might do, the Major in the second figure being not universal.

<sup>n</sup> Dr. Cranmer might have found fault with this argument, as well as with his Latin, being made in no mood or figure.

*Ergo*, It is an essential predication, and so it is his true body, and not the figure of his body.

*Cran.* *Substantia* may be predicated denominatively in an allegory, or in a metaphor, or in a figurative locution.

*Ogle.* It is not a likely thing that Christ hath less care for his spouse the Church, than a wise householder hath for his family in making his will or testament.

*Cran.* Your reason is drawn out of the affairs of men, and not taken out of the holy Scriptures.

*Ogle.* But no householder maketh his testament after that sort.

Tropes  
may be  
used in  
men's tes-  
taments.  
Why not?

*Cran.* Yes, there are many that so do. For what matter is it, so it be understood and perceived? I say, Christ did use figurative speech in no place more than in his sacraments, and specially in this his supper.

*Ogle.* No man of purpose doth use tropes in his testament; for if he do, he deceiveth them that he comprehendeth in his testament: therefore Christ useth none here.

*Cran.* Yes, he may use them well enough. You know not what tropes are.

*Ogle.* The good man of the house hath a respect, that his heirs after his departure may live in quiet, and without brabbling;

But they cannot be in quiet, if he do use tropes:

Therefore, I say, he useth no tropes.

*Cran.* I deny your Minor.

° *West.* Augustine, in his book entitled *De Unitate Ecclesiæ*, the tenth chapter, hath these words following:

A place of  
Augustine  
recited by  
the Prolo-  
cutor.

“ Quid hoc est rogo? cum verba novissima hominis morientis audiantur ituri ad inferos, nemo eum dicit esse mentitum; et illius non judicatur hæres qui forte ea contempserit. Quomodo ergo effugiemus iram Dei, si vel non credentes, vel contemnentes, expulerimus verba novissima, et unici Filii Dei et Domini nostri Salvatoris, et ituri in

° [This authority is stated in the Cambridge manuscript to have been alleged by Oglethorpe. It certainly forms part of his train of reasoning.]

“*coelum, et inde prospecturi, quis ea negligat, quis non ob-  
servet, et inde venturi ut de omnibus judicet?*”

That is to say :

“What a thing is this, I pray you? when the last words  
of one lying upon his death-bed are heard, which is ready  
to go to his grave, no man saith that he hath made a lie;  
and he is not accounted his heir which regardeth not  
those words. How shall we then escape God’s wrath, if  
either not believing, or not regarding, we shall reject the  
last words both of the only Son of God and also of our  
Lord and Saviour, both ascending into heaven, and be-  
holding from thence who despiseth, who observeth them  
not; and so shall come from thence to judge all men?”

The argument is thus formed :

Whosoever saith that the testator lieth, is a wicked Argument.  
heir;

But whosoever saith that Christ spake by figures, saith  
that he did lie:

*Ergo*, Whosoever saith that Christ here spake by figures,  
is a wicked heir.

*Cran.* I deny the Minor: as who say it is necessary that Answer.  
he which useth to speak by tropes and figures should lie in  
so doing?

*Ogle.* Your judgment is disagreeing with all Churches.

*Cran.* Nay, I disagree with the papistical Church.

*Ogle.* This you do through the ignorance of logic.

*Cran.* Nay, this you say through the ignorance of the  
doctors.

*Weston*, praising the modesty of the man, saith: I will go Argument.  
plainly to work by Scriptures. What took he?

*Cran.* Bread.

*West.* What gave he?

*Cran.* Bread.

*West.* What brake he?

*Cran.* Bread.

*West.* What did they eat?

*Cran.* Bread.

*West.* He gave bread; therefore he gave not his body.

He gave not his body; therefore it is not his body verily, in deed and in truth.

*Cran.* I deny the argument.

*P Cole.* This argument holdeth a *disparatis*<sup>9</sup>. It is bread; *Ergo*, it is not the body: and it is such an argument or reason as cannot be dissolved.

*Cran.* The like argument may be made: He is a rock; *Ergo*, He is not Christ.

*Cole.* It is not alike.

*West.* He gave not his body indeed; *Ergo*, It was not his body indeed.

The sacrament, setting the figure aside, formally is not Christ's body.  
Chrysost.

*Cran.* He gave his death, his passion, and the sacrament of his passion. And in very deed, setting the figure aside, formally it is not his body.

*West.* Why? Then the Scripture is false.

*Cran.* Nay, the Scripture is most true.

*West.* This saith Chrysostom, *Homil.* 61. *ad Pop. Antioch.* "Necessarium est, dilectissimi, mysteriorum dicere "miraculum, quid tandem sit, et quare sit datum, et quæ "rei utilitas<sup>r</sup>," &c.

That is to say:

"Needful it is, dear friends, to tell you what the miracle  
"of the mysteries is, and wherefore it is given, and what  
"profit there is of the thing. We are one body, and mem-  
"bers of his flesh and of his bones. We that be in the  
"mystery, let us follow the thing which was spoken.  
"Wherefore that we may become this thing, not only by  
"love, but also that we may become one with that flesh in-  
"deed, that is brought to pass by this food which he gave  
"unto us, minding to show his great good-will that he hath

<sup>p</sup> [According to the Cambridge manuscript, the Disputation up to this point was conducted in Latin. Cole first spoke English, and the dialogue appears to have been carried on in that language, till Chedsey resumed the Latin. MSS. Kk. 5. 14.]

<sup>9</sup> *Disparata* is a school term, meaning divers substances, being so sundered in nature that one can never be said to be the other.

<sup>r</sup> [Most of these quotations will be found at length among the *Authorities* in the Appendix. Their bearing on the controversy is in general more fully discussed either in the *Defence*, vol. ii, or the *Answer to Gardynr*, vol. iii.]



“ toward us: and therefore he mixed himself with us, and  
 “ united his own body with us, that we should be made all  
 “ as one thing together, as a body joined and annexed to  
 “ the head; for this is a token of most ardent and perfect  
 “ love. And the same thing Job also insinuating, said of  
 “ his servants, of whom he was desired above measure; in-  
 “ somuch that they, showing their great desire toward him,  
 “ said, *Who shall give unto us to be filled with his flesh?*  
 “ Therefore also Christ did the same, who, to induce us  
 “ into a greater love toward him, and to declare his desire  
 “ toward us, did not only give himself to be seen of them  
 “ that would, but also to be handled and eaten, and suf-  
 “ fered us to fasten our teeth in his flesh, and to be united  
 “ together, and so to fill all our desire. Like lions therefore,  
 “ as breathing fire, let us go from that table, being made ter-  
 “ rible to the Devil, remembering our Head in our mind,  
 “ and his charity which he showed unto us. For parents  
 “ many times give their children to other to be fed; but I  
 “ do not so, saith he, but feed you with mine own flesh,  
 “ and set myself before you, desiring to make you all jolly  
 “ people, and pretending to you great hope and expectation  
 “ to look for things to come, who here give myself to you,  
 “ but much more in the world to come. I am become your  
 “ brother; I took flesh and blood for you. Again, my  
 “ flesh and blood, by the which I am made your kinsman,  
 “ I deliver unto you.”

Thus much out of Chrysostome. Out of which words I make this argument:

The same flesh, whereby Christ is made our brother and kinsman, is given of Christ to us to be eaten;

Christ is made our brother and kinsman by his true, natural, and organical flesh:

*Ergo*, His true, natural, and organical flesh is given to us to be eaten.

*Cran.* I grant the consequence and the consequent.

*West.* Therefore we eat it with our mouth.

*Cran.* I deny it. We eat it through faith.

*West.* He gave us the same flesh to eat, whereby he became our brother and kinsman;

Dr. West-  
ton's argu-  
ment with-  
out true  
form or  
figure.

Dr. Wes-  
ton's argu-  
ment de-  
nied: We

are the true  
body of  
Christ:

*Ergo*, We  
eat it with  
our mouth.  
A figureless  
argument.

But he became our brother and kinsman by his true, natural, and organical flesh:

Therefore he gave his true, natural, and organical flesh to be eaten.

*Cran.* I grant he took and gave the same true, natural, and organical flesh wherein he suffered; and yet he feedeth us spiritually, and that flesh is received spiritually.

Fallacia a  
dicto se-  
cundum  
quid ad  
simpliciter.

*West.* He gave us the same flesh which he took of the Virgin;

But he took not the true flesh of the Virgin spiritually, or in a figure:

*Ergo*, He gave his true natural flesh, not spiritually.

*Cran.* Christ gave to us his own natural flesh, the same wherein he suffered, but feedeth us spiritually.

Answer.  
Chrysos-  
tome al-  
leged by  
Dr. Wes-  
ton.

*West.* Chrysostome is against you, *Hom. 83. in 26 cap. Matth.*, where he saith, "Veniat tibi in mentem quo sis  
"honore honoratus, qua mensa fruaris. Ea namque re nos  
"alimur, quam angeli," &c.

That is to say:

"Let it come into thy remembrance with what honour  
"thou art honoured, and what table thou sittest at: for  
"with the same thing we are nourished, which the angels  
"do behold and tremble at; neither are they able to behold  
"it without great fear, for the brightness which cometh  
"thereof: and we be brought and compact into one heap  
"or mass with him, being together one body of Christ, and  
"one flesh with him. Who shall speak the powers of the  
"Lord, and shall declare forth all his praises? What pastor  
"hath ever nourished his sheep with his own members?  
"Many mothers have put forth their infants after their  
"birth to other nurses; which he would not do, but feed-  
"eth us with his own body, and conjoineth and uniteth us  
"to himself."

Whereupon I gather this argument:

Another  
false argu-  
ment,  
where in the  
third figure,  
the Minor

Like as mothers nurse their children with their milk, so  
Christ nourisheth us with his body;

But mothers do not nourish their infants spiritually with  
their milk:

Therefore Christ doth not nourish those that be his, spir- is a nega-  
ritually with his blood. tive.

*Cran.* He gave us the wine for his blood. Answer.

*West.* If he gave the wine for his blood, as you say, then Argument.  
he gave less than mothers do give ;

But Chrysostome affirmeth, that he gave more than mo-  
thers give :

Therefore he gave not the wine for his blood.

*Cran.* You pervert mine answer. He gave wine, yet the Christ nou-  
blood is considered therein. As for example ; when he risheth us  
giveth baptism, we consider not the water, but the Holy both with  
Ghost, and remission of sins. We receive with the mouth bread and  
the sacrament ; but the thing and the matter of the sacra- with his  
ment we receive by faith. body :

*West.* When Christ said, *Eat ye*, whether meant he, by with bread  
the mouth or by faith ? our bodies,  
with his  
body our  
souls.

*Cran.* He meant that we should receive the body by  
faith, the bread by the mouth.

*West.* Nay, the body by the mouth.

*Cran.* That I deny.

A gross  
saying.

*West.* I prove it out of Chrysostome, writing upon the Chrysos-  
50th Psalm<sup>s</sup>. tome al-  
leged by  
Dr. Wes-  
ton.

“ Erubescit fieri nutrix, quæ facta est mater. Christus  
“ autem non ita ipse nutritor est noster : ideo pro cibo carne  
“ propria nos pascit, et pro potu suum sanguinem nobis  
“ propinavit.” Item in 26 *Matthæi*, *Homil.* 83. “ Non enim  
“ sufficit ipsi hominem fieri, flagellis interim cædi : sed nos  
“ secum in unam, ut ita dicam, massam reducit, neque id  
“ fide solum, sed re ipsa nos corpus suum efficit.”

That is to say :

“ She that is a mother shameth sometime to play the  
“ nurse. But Christ, our Nurse, doth not so play with us.  
“ Therefore, instead of meat, he feedeth us with his own  
“ flesh ; and, instead of drink, he feedeth us with his own  
“ blood.” Likewise, upon the 26th chapter of Matthew,

<sup>s</sup> [Sir H. Saville doubted the genuineness of this Homily, and Fronto  
Ducaeus and Montfaucon reject it altogether, as unworthy of Chrys-  
ostom.]

the 83d Homily, he saith, "For it shall not be enough for him to become man, and in the meanwhile to be whipped; but he doth bring us into one mass or lump with himself, as I may so call it, and maketh us his body, not by faith alone, but also in very deed."

*Cran.* I grant we make one nature with Christ: but that to be done with mouth I deny.

Chrysostome alleged by Dr. Weston.

*West.* Chrysost. 2 *Cor. cap.* 13. *Hom.* 29. hath these words: "Non vulgarem honorem consequutum est os nostrum, accipiens corpus Dominicum;" i. e. "No little honour is given to our mouth, receiving the body of the Lord."

The words of Chrysostome expounded.

*Cran.* This I say, that Christ entereth into us both by our ears and by our eyes. With our mouth we receive the body of Christ, and tear it with our teeth; that is to say, the sacrament of the body of Christ. Wherefore I say and affirm, that the virtue of the sacrament is much: and therefore Chrysostome many times speaketh of sacraments no otherwise than of Christ himself, as I could prove, if I might have liberty to speak, by many places of Chrysostome, where he speaketh of the sacrament of the body of Christ.

Dr. Cole denieth the sacrament to be a sacrament of the body of Christ, but only a sacrament of the congregation, that is, of the mystical body of Christ. Chrysostome alleged by Dr. Cranmer.

With the which word, "of the sacrament of the body," &c. Dr. Cole being highly offended, denied it to be the sacrament of the body of Christ, save only of the mystical body, which is the Church.

*Cran.* And why should we doubt to call it the sacrament of the body of Christ, offered upon the cross, seeing both Christ and the ancient Fathers do so call it?

*Cole.* How gather you that of Chrysostome?

*Cran.* Chrysostome declareth himself, *lib. iii. De Sacerdotio, cap. 3.*<sup>t</sup> "O miraculum! O Dei in nos benevolentia! qui sursumsed et ad dexteram Patris, sacrificii tamen tempore hominum manibus continetur, traditurque lambere cupientibus eum. Fit autem id nullis præstigiis, sed

<sup>t</sup> [The original of this passage, which will be found among the *Authorities* in the Appendix, supports Cranmer's reasoning much better than the version here given.]

“ apertis et circumspicientibus circumstantium omnium oculis.”

That is to say :

“ O miracle ! O the good-will of God towards us ! which sitteth above at the right hand of the Father, and is holden in men’s hands at the sacrifice time, and is given to feed upon, to them that are desirous of him. And that is brought to pass by no subtlety or craft, but with the open and beholding eyes of all the standers-by.”

Thus you hear Christ is seen here in earth every day, is touched, is torn with the teeth, that our tongue is red with his blood ; which no man having any judgment will say or think to be spoken without trope or figure.

*West.* What miracle is it, if it be not his body, and if he spake only of the sacrament, as though it were his body ?

But hearken what Chrysostome saith <sup>u</sup>, *Hom. 34.* “ Quod summo honore dignum est, id tibi in terra ostendo. Nam quemadmodum in regis non parietes, non lectus aureus, sed regium corpus in throno sedens omnium præstantissimum est : ita quoque in cœlis regium corpus, quod nunc in terra proponitur. Non angelos, non archangelos, non cœlos cœlorum, sed ipsum horum omnium Dominum tibi ostendo. Animadvertis, quonam pacto quod omnium maximum est atque præcipuum in terra, non conspicaris tantum, sed tangis, neque solum tangis, sed comedis, atque eo accepto domum redis. Absterge igitur ab omni sorde animam tuam.”

Chrysostome alleged by Dr. Weston.

That is to say :

“ I show forth that thing on the earth unto thee, which is worthy the greatest honour. For like as in the palace of kings, neither the walls, nor the sumptuous bed, but the body of kings sitting under the cloth of estate, and royal seat of majesty, is of all things else the most excellent ; so is in like manner the king’s body in heaven, which is now set before us on earth. I show thee neither angels

<sup>u</sup> [What follows is said by a scholar of Oxford, who was present, to have been “ the strongest argument which was thought to blank him.” Foxe, *Acts*, &c. 1st edit. p. 933.]

“ nor archangels, nor the heaven of heavens, but the very  
 “ Lord and Master of all these things. Thou perceivest  
 “ after what sort thou dost not only behold, but touchest,  
 “ and not only touchest, but eatest, that which on the earth  
 “ is the greatest and chiefest thing of all other; and when  
 “ thou hast received the same, thou goest home: wherefore  
 “ cleanse thy soul from all uncleanness.”

Upon this I conclude that the body of Christ is showed us upon the earth.

How the  
 body of  
 Christ is  
 showed us  
 upon the  
 earth.

*Cran.* What! upon the earth? No man seeth Christ upon the earth: he is seen with the eyes of our mind, with faith and spirit.

*West.* I pray you, what is it that seemeth worthy highest honour on the earth? Is it the sacrament, or else the body of Christ?

*Cran.* Chrysostome speaketh of the sacrament, and the body of Christ is showed forth in the sacrament.

*West.* *Ergo*, Then the sacrament is worthy greatest honour.

*Cran.* I deny the argument.

*West.* That thing is showed forth and is now in the earth, “ostenditur et est<sup>x</sup>,” which is worthy highest honour;

But only the body of Christ is worthy highest honour:

*Ergo*, The body of Christ is now on the earth<sup>y</sup>.

*Cran.* I answer, the body of Christ to be on the earth, but so as in a sacrament, and as the Holy Ghost is in the water of baptism.

*West.* Chrysostome saith, “ostendo,” “I show forth;” which noteth a substance to be present.

*Cran.* That is to be understood sacramentally.

*West.* He saith, “ostendo in terra,” “I show forth on earth;” declaring also the place where.

*Cran.* That is to be understand figuratively.

<sup>x</sup> This word “est” is not in Chrysostome.

<sup>y</sup> This argument of Weston, standing only upon affirmatives in the second figure, hath no perfect form in logic.

*West.* He is showed forth and is now on the earth, &c. as before.

*Cran.* Your Major and Conclusion are all one.

*West.* But the Major is true: *Ergo*, The Conclusion also is true.

That thing is on the earth, which is worthy of most high honour;

But no figure is worthy of highest honour:

*Ergo*, That which is on the earth is no figure.

*Cran.* I answer, that is true sacramentally.

Here Weston crieth to him that he should answer to one part, bidding him repeat his words. Which when he went about to do, such was the noise and crying out in the School, that his mild voice could not be heard. For when he went about to declare to the people how the Prolocutor did not well English the words of Chrysostome, using for *Weston* "ostenditur in terra," "he is showed forth on the earth," *falsifies the* "est in terra," "he is on the earth;" whereas Chrysostome *words of* hath not "est," nor any such word of being on the earth; *Chrysostom.* but only of showing, as the grace of the Holy Ghost in *baptismo ostenditur*, i. e. is showed forth in baptism; and oftentimes he did inculcate this word "ostenditur:" then the Prolocutor, stretching forth his hand, set on the rude people to cry out at him, filling all the School with hissing, clapping of hands, and noise; calling him *indoc-* *Unre-* *reverend* *words used* *in the* *School* *against* *Doctor* *Cranmer.* *tum, imperitum, impudentem*; i. e. unlearned, unskilful, impudent. Which impudent and reproachful words this reverend man most patiently and meekly did abide, as one that had been inured with the suffering of such like reproaches. And when the Prolocutor, not yet satisfied with this rude and unseemly demeanour, did urge and call upon him to answer the argument, then he bade the Notary repeat his words again.

*Notary.* That which is worthy most high honour, here I show forth to thee in earth;

The body of Christ is worthy highest honour:

*Ergo*, He sheweth forth the body of Christ here in earth.

*Cranmer* answereth to the place of Chrysostome, how Christ is showed forth on the earth, not bodily, but in a sacrament, that is, sacramentally and figuratively.

*Cran.* That is showed forth here on the earth which may be seen, which may be touched, and which may be eaten <sup>z</sup>; but these things be not true of the body.

*Cole.* Why should not these things be true of the body of Christ?

*Cran.* The Major out of Chrysostome is true, meaning of the sacrament. For in the sacrament the true body of Christ, and not the figurative body, is set forth.

*West.* Show me somewhat in earth worthy greatest honour.

*Cran.* I cannot, but in the sacrament only.

*West.* Ergo, The sacrament is worthy greatest honour.

*Cran.* So it is.

*Judges.* Let it be written.

*Cran.* I pray you, let my answer be written likewise. I affirm, that the body of Christ is showed forth unto us. It is our faith that seeth Christ.

*West.* "Ostendo tibi," i. e. "I show it to thee," saith Chrysostome, not to thy faith.

*Cran.* He speaketh sacramentally.

*West.* Ergo, Chrysostome lieth. For he, speaking of showing, saith, "Ego Chrysostomus ostendo;" i. e. "I Chrysostome do show." But he can show nothing sacramentally.

*Ched.* By force of argument we are brought to this point, that the body of Christ is proved to be on earth, not only sacramentally, but in very deed also; by this reason, that it is worthy highest honour. The reason is indissoluble.

*Cran.* I never heard a more vain argument, and it is most vain: also it hath mine answer unto it.

*Ched.* Will you affirm, that it is absurd which Chrysostome saith, that the body of Christ is touched?

I touch the body of Christ in the sacrament, as Thomas touched Christ;

<sup>z</sup> The body of Christ is showed forth to us here in earth divers ways; as in reading of the Scriptures, sometimes in hearing sermons, and also in sacraments; and yet neither the Scriptures, nor sermons, nor sacraments are to be worshipped.



Thomas touched Christ, and said, *Dominus meus, Deus meus ; My Lord, my God :*

*Ergo*, That which he touched, was the Lord the God <sup>a</sup>.

*Cran.* I deny your argument. He touched not God, but him which was God. Neither is it sound doctrine to affirm, that God is touched. God cannot be touched.

*Ched.* This is because of the union : so that God is said to be touched, when Christ, which is both God and man, is touched.

Tertullian, *De Carnis Resurrectione*, saith, “ Videamus Tertull. Quod symbolorum est, rei attribuitur.  
 “ de propria Christiani hominis forma, quanta huic sub-  
 “ stantiæ frivolæ et sordidæ apud Deum prærogativa sit.  
 “ Etsi sufficeret illi, quod nulla omnino anima salutem pos-  
 “ set adipisci, nisi dum est in carne crediderit : adeo caro  
 “ salutis cardo est, de qua cum anima Deo alligatur, ipsa  
 “ est quæ efficit ut anima alligari possit ; sed et caro ablui-  
 “ tur, ut anima emaculetur ; caro ungitur, ut anima conse-  
 “ cretur ; caro signatur, ut anima muniatur ; caro manus  
 “ impositione adumbratur, ut anima Spiritu illuminetur ;  
 “ caro corpore et sanguine Christi vescitur, ut anima de  
 “ Deo saginetur.”

That is to say :

“ Let us consider, as concerning the proper form of the  
 “ Christian man, what great prerogative this vain and foul  
 “ substance of ours hath with God. Although it were suf-  
 “ ficient to it, that no soul could ever get salvation, unless  
 “ it believe while it is in the flesh : so much the flesh avail-  
 “ eth to salvation, by the which flesh it cometh, that  
 “ whereas the soul is linked unto God, it is the said flesh  
 “ that causeth the soul so to be linked : yet the flesh  
 “ moreover is washed, that the soul may be cleansed ; the  
 “ flesh is anointed, that the soul may be consecrated ; the  
 “ flesh is signed, that the soul may be defended ; the flesh

<sup>a</sup> This argument, as I received it out of the Notary's book, is not formal ; but rather he should conclude in the third figure thus :

*Du-* As Thomas touched the body of Christ, so we touch it in the sacrament ;

*ti-* Thomas touched the body of Christ corporally :

*si.* *Ergo*, We touch the body of Christ corporally in the sacrament.

“ is shadowed by the imposition of hands, that the soul may  
 “ be illuminated with the Spirit ; the flesh doth eat the  
 “ body and blood of Christ, that the soul may be fed of  
 “ God.” Whereupon I gather this argument :

Argument. The flesh eateth the body of Christ :

*Ergo*, The body of Christ is eaten with the mouth.

Item *Photius*, 1 *ad Cor. cap.* 11. upon these words, *Reus erit corporis et sanguinis*, &c.<sup>b</sup>

Photius  
alleged by  
Chedsey.

Τὸ, ἐνοχος τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἵματος, τοῦτο δηλοῖ, ὅτι καθάπερ παρέδωκε μὲν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰουδας, παρῶντησαν δὲ εἰς αὐτὸν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, οὕτως ἀτιμάζουσιν αὐτὸν οἱ τὸ πανάγιον αὐτοῦ σῶμα χερσὶν ἀκαθάρτοις δεχόμενοι, ὥς Ἰουδαῖοι κρατοῦντες αὐτὸν τότε, καὶ καταράτῃ προσφέροντες στόματι· διὰ δὲ τὸ εἰπεῖν πολλάκις, τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Κυρίου, δηλοῖ, ὅτι οὐκ ἄνθρωπος ψιλὸς ὁ θυόμενος, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριος ὁ ποιητὴς πάντων, ὥς δῆθεν διὰ τούτων ἐκφοβῶν αὐτούς : i. e. “ Quod ait, *Reus corporis et sanguinis*, istud declarat, quod sicuti Judas ipsum quidem tradidit, Judæi contumeliose in ipsum insaniebant : sic ipsum inhonorant qui sanctissimum ipsius corpus impuris manibus suscipiunt, et tanquam Judæi ipsi tenent et execrabili ore recipiunt. Quod crebro mentionem facit corporis et sanguinis Domini, manifestat, quod non sit simplex homo qui sacrificatur, sed ipse Dominus omnium factor, tanquam per hæc quidem ipsos perterre-faciens.”

That is to say :

“ Whereas he saith, *Is guilty of the body and blood*, this  
 “ he declareth, that like as Judas betrayed him, and the  
 “ Jews were fierce and spiteful against him ; so do they  
 “ dishonour him, which receive his holy body with their  
 “ impure hands, and as the Jews did hold him then, do  
 “ now receive him with impure mouths. And whereas he  
 “ often maketh mention of the body and blood of the Lord,  
 “ he declareth that it is not simply man that is sacrificed,  
 “ but even the Lord himself, being the maker of all things ;  
 “ hereby, as it were, making them afraid.

<sup>b</sup> [Apud Œcumen. tom. i. p. 532. Paris, 1631.]

*Ergo*, (as it is hereby gathered,) the body of Christ is touched with the hands.

*Cran.* You vouch two authors against me upon sundry things. First, I must answer Tertullian, and then the other.

*Ched.* They tend both to one meaning.

*Cran.* Unto Tertullian I answer, (because our disputation is wandering and uncertain,) that he calleth that the flesh which is the sacrament. For although God work all things in us invisibly, beyond man's reach, yet they are so manifest, that they may be seen and perceived of every sense. Therefore he setteth forth baptism, unction, and last of all the Supper of the Lord unto us, which he gave to signify his operation in us. The flesh liveth by the bread, but the soul is inwardly fed by Christ.

*West.* Stick to those words of Tertullian, "Corpus vescitur, ut anima saginetur;" i. e. "The body eateth, that the soul may be fed." Answer to Tertullianus.  
Dr. Weston urgeth him with the words of Tertullian.

*Ched.* The flesh eateth the body of Christ, that the soul may be fed therewith.

*West.* Here you see two kinds of food, of the soul and of the body.

*Ched.* He saith, that not only the soul, but the flesh is also fed.

*Cran.* The soul is fed with the body of Christ, the body with the sacrament.

*Ched.* Is the soul fed with the body of Christ, and not with the sacrament?

*Cran.* Read that which followeth, and you shall perceive, that by things external, an operation internal is understood. Inwardly we eat Christ's body, and outwardly we eat the sacrament. So one thing is done outwardly, another inwardly. Like as in baptism the external element, whereby the body is washed, is one; the internal thing, whereby the soul is cleansed, is another. Inwardly we eat the body, outwardly the sacrament.

*Ched.* The soul is fed by that which the body eateth;

But the soul is fed by the flesh of Christ:

*Ergo*, The body eateth the flesh of Christ.

*Cran.* We eat not one thing outwardly and inwardly. Inwardly we eat Christ's body; outwardly we eat the sacrament.

*Ched.* I will repeat the argument.

° The flesh eateth Christ's body, that the soul may be fed therewith;

The soul is not fed with the sacrament, but with Christ's body:

*Ergo,* The flesh eateth the body of Christ.

*Cran.* The sacrament is one thing; the matter of the sacrament is another. Outwardly we receive the sacrament; inwardly we eat the body of Christ.

*Ched.* I prove that we receive that outwardly wherewith the soul is fed.

Consequence.

The soul is fed with the body of Christ:

*Ergo,* We eat the body of Christ outwardly.

Consequence.

The flesh eateth Christ his body:

*Ergo,* The soul is fed therewith.

Answer.

*Cran.* The flesh, I say, eateth the sacrament; it eateth not Christ's body. For Tertullian speaketh of the sacrament; and the place hath not "inde," "thereof;" but "de Deo," "of God."

*Ched.* What say you to Photius' saying? "They which receive the body with impure hands are guilty of the Lord's blood, as Judas was."

*West.* That which followeth in Tertullian doth take away your shift, whereas he saith, "Non possunt ergo separari in mercede, quos opera conjungit;" i. e. "They cannot be separated in reward, whom one work joineth together."

But manducation is the work or labour: *Ergo,* &c.<sup>d</sup>

° The form of this argument which he repeateth, stood better before: for the form of this connexion answereth to none of the three figures of syllogisms.

<sup>d</sup> The form of this argument may be thus collected;

*Da-* One work or labour joineth body and soul together;

*ri-* Manducation is a work or labour:

*i.* *Ergo,* One manducation joineth together both body and soul.

To the Major of which argument thus it may be answered; expounding the saying of Tertullian, *Una opera conjungit, sed non idem ope-*

*Cran.* Your authority, I suppose, is taken out of the book *De Resurrectione Carnis*, i. e. "Of the Resurrection of the Flesh." And the meaning thereof is this: Tertul-<sup>Answer to Tertullian, De Resur-rect.</sup>lian goeth about there to prove, that the flesh shall rise again, because it is joined together in one work with the soul. Through baptism in this world the body is washed, and the soul is washed: the body outwardly, the soul inwardly; the work is one. In this work they are joined. And he speaketh of signs.

*West.* He speaketh of eating in a sign:

*Ergo,* The reward is in a sign.

*Cran.* They are coupled in one work, namely, in the sacrament.

*West.* There are two works:

*Ergo,* There are two rewards.

If the work be in a figure:

*Ergo,* The reward is in a figure.

*Cran.* He speaketh not of two works. Two works are but one work. And yet he saith not, "Quos una opera conjungit," i. e. "Whom one work joineth together;" but "opera," i. e. "a work:" as in baptism the soul and the body are joined in understanding.

*West.* The flesh and soul shall have one and the self-same reward, because they have one work.

*Cran.* Because they be joined together in one work.

*Tresh.* Forasmuch as the reverend doctors here have im-<sup>Dr. Tre-sham dis-puteth.</sup>pugned and overthrown your assertion and your answers sufficiently, I will fall to another matter, not altogether impertinent to the purpose, and that in few words, against a certain sequel of your opinion. The sequel is this; that between us and Christ there is no further conjunction, whiles we receive the Eucharist, than a conjunction of the mind, or a spiritual conjunction, whereby we are united

randi modus. Again, "opera" here in Tertullian may be taken for temptations and afflictions.

As the body and soul are joined in the work of baptism, so are they joined in the communion of the Lord's Supper. For as the flesh is washed with water, that the soul may be purged spiritually; so our body eateth the outward sacrament, that the soul may be fed of God.

and knit unto Christ through faith and love. As for the presence of Christ, concerning the substance, that you utterly deny. Whereupon in very deed you leave but a spiritual union and joining together of mind. Howbeit you would seem to think otherwise by your subtle answers. But I will declare by manifest testimonies of the Fathers, that this your sequel, which you account so sure, is far wide from the truth. And I will begin with St. Hilary, who is both an ancient and learned author. For disputing against the Arrians, *Octavo De Trinitate*, he saith, that this was their opinion; that the Father and the Son are conjoined only through unity of will. Whereupon Arrius himself, when Scripture was alleged against him, did, as you do now, elude the right meaning of it by his false interpretations. But the catholic Church hath always believed, and ever maintained, that Christ is one with the Father in nature, and not by consent of will only. To the proof whereof, when the catholics vouched this testimony of John, *Pater et Ego unum sumus*, i. e. *The Father and I are one*; the Arrians answered, that *unum sumus* was to be understand by the assent of their wills, and agreement of their minds, not by unity of their natures. Thus it happeneth nowadays, where men do doubt of the sacrament. But Hilary going on, and proving the natural conjunction between the Father and the Son *a fortiori*, questioneth with his adversaries after this manner: "I demand of them " now, which will needs have the unity of will only between " the Father and the Son, whether Christ be now in us " truly by nature, or only by the agreement of wills? " If," saith he, " the word be incarnate in very deed, and " we receive at the Lord's table the Word made flesh, how " then is he to be thought not to dwell in us naturally, who " being born man, hath both taken the nature of our flesh " upon him, that is now inseparable, and hath also mingled " that nature of his own flesh unto the nature of eternity, " under the sacrament of his flesh, to be communicated " unto us?" Thus much hath Hilary. Whereupon I ask

Hilary.

\* [See *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 406, &c.) and *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. pp. 249. 253.)]

of you this question: How Christ dwelleth now in us? According to faith, or according to nature?

*Cran.* I say that Christ dwelleth verily in us carnally and naturally, for that he hath taken of the Virgin our flesh upon him, and because he hath communicated his nature unto us.

Conjunction between Christ and us.  
Answer to Hilary.

*Tresh.* Bucer, *Contra Abrincensem*<sup>f</sup>, referreth these words only to the Eucharist, saying, Christ doth exhibit all this unto us in his holy Supper; and according to the holy Fathers, saith he, Christ liveth thereby in us, not only by faith and love, as absent, but naturally, corporally, and carnally. Wherefore he is not absent, neither are we joined to Christ only by a spiritual union, as you suppose, but also by a corporal and carnal union.

Bucer, alleged by Tresham.

*Cran.* I know that Master Bucer was a learned man: but your faith is in good case, which leaneth upon Bucer.

*Tresh.* I do not bring Bucer as a patron of our faith, but because he is a man of your sort, and yet bringeth this place of Hilary for that union which we have by the sacrament, and confesseth that by it we are carnally united to Christ, whereas you think that we are joined by it only through faith and love.

*Cran.* I say that Christ was communicated unto us, not only by faith, but in very deed also, when he was born of the Virgin. We have fellowship with Christ, when we are united in the unity of the Church, when we are made flesh of his flesh and bones of his bones; and so we are united in the communion, in baptism, and in faith.

Christ communicated and united to us by birth, by unity of the Church, by the communion, by baptism, by faith.

*Tresh.* I pray you, what fellowship have we with Christ, in that he is made man? Are not the Turks and Jews therein joined with him? for they are men as we are, and are joined with him in man's nature, in that he was born of a woman. I speak now of a more near unity: we are made one with Christ by the communion in a perfect unity.

*Cran.* We are made so, I grant: but we are made so also by baptism; and the unity in baptism is perfect.

We are united to Christ by communion, so as we are by baptism.

*Tresh.* We are not made one by baptism in a perfect

<sup>f</sup> [See Bucer *Script. Angl.* p. 616.]

Objection  
of Hilary.

unity, as Hilary there speaketh, but by the communion, by which we are carnally made one, but not likewise by baptism : wherefore you understand not Hilary. You shall hear his words, which are these : “ He had now declared  
“ afore the sacrament of his perfect union, saying, *As the living Father sent me, so do I also live by the Father.* And,  
“ *He that eateth my flesh, shall also live through me.*” And a little after that he writeth thus : “ This truly is the  
“ cause of our life, that we have Christ dwelling by his  
“ flesh in us that are fleshly, which also by him shall live  
“ in such sort as he liveth by his Father.” Wherefore of these words it is manifest, that we obtain this perfect unity by means of the sacrament, and that Christ by it is carnally united unto us.

Answer to  
the place of  
Hilary.

*Cran.* Nay, Hilary in that same place doth teach, that it is done by baptism : and that doctrine is not to be suffered in the Church, which teacheth, that we are not joined to Christ by baptism.

*West.* Repeat the argument.

*Cran.* You must first make an argument.

*Tresh.* It is made already, but it shall be made again in this form :

Argument.

As Christ liveth by his Father, so they that eat Christ's flesh live by the same flesh ;

But Christ liveth by the Father, not only by faith and love, but naturally :

*Ergo*, We live, not through the eating of Christ's flesh by faith and love only, but naturally.

*Cran.* We live by Christ, not only by faith and love, but eternally indeed.

*Tresh.* Nay, <sup>h</sup> naturally. I prove it thus :

<sup>g</sup> [See *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 408, note.)]

<sup>h</sup> The papists by this one word “ naturally ” confound themselves. For if the natural body of Christ were eaten, and went naturally into our bodies, then should it follow, that the nature of his body being immaculate, and now also immortal, our bodies, united in nature to his pure and immortal body, naturally should never sin nor die. Wherefore it remaineth, that the natural uniting to Christ's body cometh not by the bodily eating of the sacrament, unto our body, but to our soul, and so shall redound at length unto our bodies. If that union of the



As Christ liveth by the Father, so live we by his flesh eaten of us;

But Christ liveth not by his Father only by faith and love, but naturally:

Therefore, we do not live by eating of Christ's flesh only by faith and love, as you suppose, but naturally.

*Cran.* The Minor is not true.

*Tresh.* This is the opinion of Arrius, that Christ is united to his Father by conjunction of mind, and not naturally.

*Cran.* I say not so yet, neither do I think so. But I will tell you what I like not in your Minor. You say, that Christ doth not live by his Father only by faith and love: but I say, that Christ liveth not at all by his faith.

*West.* Mark and consider well this word "by faith," lest any occasion of cavilling be given.

*Tresh.* Let that word "by faith" be omitted. Neither did I mean, that Christ liveth by his Father through faith. Yet the strength of the argument remaineth in force. For else Hilary doth not confute the Arrians, except there be a greater conjunction between us and Christ, when he is eaten of us, than only a spiritual conjunction. You do only grant an union in deed. As for a carnal or natural union of the substance of flesh, by which we are joined more than spiritually, you do not grant. But our Lord Jesus Christ give you a better mind, and show you the light of his truth, that you may return into the way of righteousness.

*West.* We came hither to dispute, and not to pray.

*Tresh.* Is it not lawful to pray for them that err?

*West.* It is not lawful yet. But proceed.

*Tresh.* Again I reason thus: As Christ liveth by his Father, after the same manner do we live by his flesh being eaten of us; The same argument again repeated.

But Christ liveth not by his Father only in unity of will, but naturally:

*Ergo,* We do not live, when we eat the flesh of Christ, only by faith and unity of will, but naturally.

substance of flesh should be granted unto our bodies, then should our bodies never die, nor see corruption.

Answer.

*Cran.* This is my faith, and it agreeth with the Scripture: Christ liveth by his Father naturally, and maketh us to live by himself in deed naturally, and that not only in the sacrament of the Eucharist, but also in baptism. For infants, when they are baptized, do eat the flesh of Christ.

*West.* Answer either to the whole argument, or to the parts thereof. For this argument is strong, and cannot be dissolved.

*Cran.* This is the argument :

The Arch-  
bishop re-  
peateth the  
argument.

As Christ liveth by his Father, after the same manner do we live by his flesh, being eaten of us ;

But Christ liveth not by his Father only in unity of will, but naturally :

*Ergo*, We eating his flesh do not live only by faith and love, but naturally.

But the Major is false ; namely, that by the same manner we live by Christ, as he liveth by his Father.

*West.* <sup>1</sup> Hilary saith, " After the same manner ;" these be his words : "*He that eateth my flesh shall live by me :*" *Ergo*, Christ liveth by his Father ; and as he liveth by his " Father, after the same manner we shall live by his flesh." Here you see that Hilary saith, " After the same manner."

*Cran.* " After the same manner" doth not signify, ' like ' in all things,' but ' in deed and eternally : ' for so do we live by Christ, and Christ liveth by his Father. For in

<sup>1</sup> Christ, not after his manhood, but after his Divine nature, liveth naturally by his Father ; which Divine nature of his worketh also in his manhood an immortality : so our spirit and soul, receiving the natural body of Christ in the mysteries, by faith do receive also the nature of his body, that is, his pureness, justification, and life ; the operation whereof, redounding likewise unto our bodies, doth make the same also capable of the same glory and immortality. And thus it is true, that as Christ liveth naturally by his Father, so we live naturally by the body of Christ eaten in the mysteries, having respect both to the manhood of him and us. For as the flesh of Christ, in respect of bare flesh, liveth not naturally by the Father, but for that it is joined to his Divinity ; so our flesh liveth not naturally by Christ's body eaten in the sacrament, (for then every wicked man eating the sacrament should live naturally by him,) but for that our flesh is joined to the spirit and soul, which truly eateth the body of Christ by faith : and so only the bodies of the faithful do live by eating the body of Christ naturally, in participating the natural properties of the body of Christ.

other respects Christ liveth otherwise by his Father, than we live by Christ.

*West.* He liveth by his Father naturally and eternally :

*Ergo,* We live by Christ naturally and eternally.

*Cran.* We do not live naturally, but by grace, if you take naturally for the manner of nature. As Christ hath eternal life of his Father, so have we of him.

*West.* I stick to this word "naturally."

*Cran.* I mean it touching the truth of nature : for Christ liveth otherwise by his Father, than we live by Christ. "Natural-  
ly" ex-  
pounded.

*West.* Hilarie, in his eighth book *De Trinitate*, denieth it, when he saith, "He liveth therefore by his Father; and "as he liveth by his Father, after the same manner we "shall live by his flesh."

*Cran.* We shall live after the same manner, as concerning the nature of the flesh of Christ : for as he hath of his Father the nature of eternity, so shall we have of him.

*West.* Answer unto the parts of the argument.

As Christ liveth by his Father, after the same manner shall we live by his flesh ; The argu-  
ment the  
third time

But Christ doth not live by his Father only in unity of will, but naturally : repeated.

*Ergo,* We, eating his flesh, do not live only by faith and love, but naturally.

*Cran.* I grant, as I said, we live by Christ naturally ; but I never heard that Christ liveth with his Father in unity of will only.

*West.* Because it seemeth a marvel unto you, hear what Hilary saith : "These things are recited of us to this end ; "because the heretics, feigning an unity of will only be- "tween the Father and the Son, did use the example of "our unity with God ; as though we being united to the "Son, and by the Son to the Father, only by obedience "and will of religion, had no property of the natural com- "munion by the sacrament of the body and blood."

But answer to the argument. Christ liveth by his Father naturally and eternally : therefore do we live by Christ naturally and eternally.

Ex exem-  
plari manu  
Cranmeri  
descripto.

“ Natural-  
“ ly” ex-  
pounded ;  
that is, our  
bodies do  
participate  
the nature  
and proper-  
ties of  
Christ’s  
holy, im-  
mortal  
body.

*Cran.* Cyril and Hilary do say, that Christ is united to us, not only by will, but also by nature: he doth communicate to us his own nature, and so is Christ made one with us carnally and corporally, because he took our nature of the Virgin Mary. And Hilary doth not say only that Christ is naturally in us, but that we also are naturally in him and in the Father; that is, that we are partakers of their nature, which is eternity, or everlastingness. For as the Word, receiving our nature, did join it unto himself in unity of person, and did communicate unto that our nature the nature of his eternity; that like as he, being the everlasting Word of the Father, had everlasting life of the Father, even so he gave the same nature to his flesh: likewise also did he communicate with us the same nature of eternity, which he and the Father have, and that we should be one with them, not only in will and love, but that we should be also partakers of the nature of everlasting life.

*West.* Hilary, where he saith, “ Christ communicated to “ us his nature,” meaneth that, not by his nativity, but by the sacrament.

*Cran.* He hath communicated to us his flesh by his nativity.

*West.* We have communicated to him <sup>k</sup>our flesh when he was born.

*Cran.* Nay, he communicated to us his flesh when he was born, and that I will show you out of Cyril upon this place, *Et homo factus est.*

*West.* *Ergo*, Christ, in being born, gave us his flesh.

*Cran.* In his nativity he made us <sup>l</sup>partakers of his flesh.

*West.* Write, sirs.

*Cran.* Yea, write.

*Ched.* <sup>m</sup>This place of Hilary is so dark, that you were

<sup>k</sup> Then had Christ a sinful flesh.

<sup>l</sup> That is, made us partakers of the properties, life, innocency, and resurrection of his body.

<sup>m</sup> [The Cambridge manuscript puts this accusation into the mouth of Weston. As he certainly pursued the question, it is natural to suppose that he started it.]

compelled to falsify it in your book, because you could not draw it to confirm your purpose.

Dr. Chedsey again disputeth.

“<sup>n</sup> If Christ have taken verily the flesh of our body, and the man that was verily born of the Virgin Mary is Christ, and also we do truly receive the flesh of his body in a mystery, by means whereof we shall be one, (for the Father is in Christ, and Christ in us,) how shall that be called the unity of will? when the natural property, brought to pass by the sacrament, is the sacrament of unity. We must not speak in the sense of man, or of the world, in matters concerning God; neither must we perversely wrest any strange or wicked sense out of the wholesome meaning of the holy Scripture, through impudent and vile contention. Let us read those things that are written, and let us understand those things that we read, and then we shall perform the duty of perfect faith. For as touching that natural and true being of Christ in us, except we learn of him, we speak foolishly and ungodly that thing that we do speak. For he saith, *My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him.* As touching the verity of his flesh and blood, there is left no place of doubt: for now, both by the testimony of the Lord, and also by our faith, it is verily flesh, and verily blood.”

Thus far was their talk in English.

Here you have falsified Hilary; for you have set “vero sub mysterio” for “vere sub mysterio,” “we receive truly under a mystery.” Hilary thrice reporteth “vere sub mysterio,” and you interpret it twice “vere sub mysterio,” but the third time you have “vero” for “vere p.”

<sup>n</sup> Hilar. 8. *De Trinit.*

<sup>o</sup> [According to the manuscript in the Public Library, Cambridge, the greater part of “their talk” previously had been in Latin, and this discussion on the reading of Hilary was in English. The same authority represents the arguments between Yong and Cranmer to have been in Latin.]

<sup>p</sup> Seeing Master Cranmer had twice “vere,” and but once “vero,” they had no cause to be grieved, but that they were disposed to find a knot in a rush.

<sup>q</sup> *Cran.* Assuredly I am not guilty of any deceit herein. It may be that the copy which I followed had “sub vero mysterio,” i. e. “under a true mystery;” although touching the sense it differeth little. God I call to witness, I have alway hated falsifying; and if you had leisure and lust to hear false citations, I could recite unto you six hundred.

*West.* Here shall be showed you two copies of Hilary, the one printed at Basil, the other at Paris.

*Cran.* I suppose that Doctor Smyth’s book hath “vero<sup>r</sup>.”

*West.* Here is Doctor Smyth; let him answer for himself.

Mr. Smyth, Mr. Doctor, what say you for yourself? Speak, if you know it.

Here Master Doctor Smyth, either for the truth in his book alleged, or else astonied with Dr. Weston’s hasty calling, staid to answer: for he only put off his cap, and kept silence<sup>s</sup>.

<sup>q</sup> [Cranmer in this case suffered the hard fate of being charged with deceit, for an error which originated with his adversaries. For the false reading of Hilary, to which so much importance was now attached, appeared, four years before Cranmer took part in the controversy, in the pages, not of an impugner, but a defender of the corporal presence, namely, in Gardyner’s *Detection of the Devil’s Sophistry*, 1546. If therefore Hilary’s evidence was weakened, the fault lay with the very advocate who brought him forward as a witness: for Gardyner’s incorrect citation, supported perhaps by an inaccurate copy of the *Decretum*, seems to have led to Cranmer’s error. And it must be remarked further, that even this error, from whatever source it came, had been corrected long before the present accusation. See below, note (t); *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 406;) *Detection*, &c.; and *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. pp. 249. 253.) See also in Foxe, *Acts*, &c. vol. iii. p. 1000, the persecution to which Wm. Holcot of University College was subjected, “for the maintenance of Cranmer in his naughtiness;” i. e. for speaking the truth respecting this quotation.]

<sup>r</sup> [If the book referred to is Smythe’s *Assertion of the Sacrament of the Altar*, it does not contain the passage in Latin; but, as Smythe, according to his own account, furnished Gardyner with his authorities, he was probably the original source of the error. See *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. p. 253.)]

<sup>s</sup> [Though Smythe might with truth have asserted, that “vero” was not in his book, there was yet good reason for his keeping silence. He was probably conscious, that the whole charge arose from his giving Gardyner an inaccurate citation; and he must at least have recollected, that his own unfaithful translation of the passage had been exposed by Cranmer in his *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 406.) and *Answer to Gardyner*. (vol. iii. p. 253.) According to Smythe, Hilary “saith thus in effect: “If Christ did truly take upon him the flesh of our body, and if he that “was truly born of Mary was Christ, then we do take in the sacrament

*West.* But your own book, printed by Wolfe your own printer, hath "vere".

*Cran.* That book is taken from me, which easily might have ended this controversy. I am sure the book of Decrees hath "vero."

*Cole.* Now you admit the book of Decrees, when it maketh for you. Here Dr. Cole beginneth to carp.

*Cran.* Touching the sense of the matter there is little difference. The change of one letter for another is but a small matter.

*West.* No? Yes; "Pastor," as you know, signifieth a bishop, and "pistor" signifieth a baker. But "pastor" shall be "pistor," a bishop shall be a baker, by this your change of one letter, if "vere" and "vero" do nothing change the sense.

*Cran.* Let it be so, that in "pistor" and "pastor" one letter maketh some difference; yet let "pistor" be either a baker or maker of bread, ye see here the change of a letter, and yet no great difference to be in the sense.

*Yong.* This Disputation is taken in hand, that the truth might appear. I perceive that I must go another way to work than I had thought. It is a common saying, Against him that denieth principles we must not dispute. Therefore, that we may agree of the principles, I demand, whether there be any other body of Christ than his instrumental body? Dr. Yong cometh in with his Socratical interrogations.

*Cran.* There is no natural body of Christ but his organical body.

"the flesh of his body, and by that are made one, the Father being in him and he in us; and by that it appeareth we be made one with the Father, because that by eating of the Lord's meat, in which we do eat his flesh, we be made naturally one with Christ." (*Assertion of the Sacrament of the Altar*, f. 19.) Such a translator must have felt, that he was little entitled to speak on a question of falsifying citations. The word "vere," it will be observed, he thought of so little consequence, as to omit it altogether.]

<sup>†</sup> [The book referred to must be Cranmer's *Answer to Gardiner*, printed by Wolfe in 1551, in which the original passage from Hilary is cited with the true reading "vere." The same reading appears also in the Latin edition of the *Defence*, published in 1553. But these facts surely tend to disprove rather than to establish Weston's charge of corruption. For no one who had been guilty of wilful mistranslation would have supplied thus readily the means of his own detection.]

<sup>‡</sup> [This answer of Cranmer does not appear in the first edition of Foxe.]

*Yong.* Again I demand, whether sense and reason ought to give place to faith ?

*Cran.* They ought.

*Yong.* Thirdly, whether Christ be true in all his words ?

*Cran.* Yea, he is most true, and truth itself.

*Yong.* Fourthly, whether Christ at his supper minded to do that which he spake, or no ?

*Cran.* Dicendo dixit, non fecit dicendo ; sed fecit discipulis sacramentum ; i. e. In saying he spake, but in saying he made not ; but made the sacrament to his disciples.

Dr. Yong's  
sophistical  
interrogatories.

*Yong.* Answer according to the truth. Whether did Christ that as God and man which he spake, when he said, *This is my body* ?

*Cran.* This is a sophistical cavillation. Go plainly to work. There is some deceit in these questions. You seek subtleness. Leave your crafty fetches.

*Yong.* I demand, whether Christ by these words wrought any thing or no ?

*Cran.* He did institute the sacrament.

*Yong.* But answer, whether did he work any thing ?

*Cran.* He did work in instituting the sacrament.

*Yong.* Now I have you ; for before, you said it was a figurative speech ;

But a figure worketh nothing :

*Ergo*, It is not a figurative speech. A liar ought to have a good memory <sup>u</sup>.

*Cran.* I understood your sophistry before. You by working understand converting into the body of Christ : but Christ wrought the sacrament, not in converting, but in instituting.

*Yong.* Woe to them that make Christ a deceiver. Did he work any other thing than he spake, or the selfsame thing ?

*Cran.* He wrought the sacrament, and by these words he signified the effect.

*Yong.* A figurative speech is no working thing ;

But the speech of Christ is working :

<sup>u</sup> This syllogism, speaking of a figure, hath no perfect form nor figure.



*Ergo*, It is not figurative.

*Cran.* It worketh by instituting, not by converting.

*Yong.* The thing signified in the sacrament, is it not in that sacrament?

*Cran.* It is. For the thing is ministered in a sign. He followeth the letter, that taketh the thing for a sign. Answer to Dr. Yong by St. Austin. gustine separateth the sacrament from the thing<sup>x</sup>. The sacrament, saith he, is one, and the thing of the sacrament another.

*West.* Stick to the argument.

It is a figurative speech:

*Ergo*, It worketh nothing.

*Yong.* But the speech of Christ is a working thing:

*Ergo*, It is not figurative.

*Cran.* Oh how many crafts are in this argument. They are mere fallacies. I said not, that the words of Christ do work, but Christ himself; and he worketh by a figurative speech.

*West.* If a figure work, it maketh of bread the body of Christ.

*Cran.* A figurative speech worketh not.

*West.* A figurative speech, by your own confession, worketh nothing;

But the speech of Christ in the supper, as you grant, wrought somewhat:

*Ergo*, The speech of Christ in the supper was not figurative.

*Cran.* I answer, these are mere sophisms: the speech doth not work, but Christ by the speech doth work the sacrament. The figurative speech worketh not, but Christ by the figurative speech worketh the sacrament.

I look for Scriptures at your hands; for they are the foundation of disputations<sup>y</sup>.

*Yong.* Are not these words of Scripture, *This is my body*; *The word of Christ is of strength*; and, *By the Lord's words the heavens were made*. He said, *This is my body*: *Ergo*, He made it.

<sup>x</sup> [*Corpus Juris Canon. De Consecr. dist. 2. "Hoc est."*]

<sup>y</sup> [*"Affers doctores, expecto Scripturas."* Cambr. MSS. Kk. 5. 14.]

*Cran.* He made the sacrament; and I deny your argument.

*Yong.* If he wrought nothing, nothing is left there. He said, *This is my body*. You say, contrary to the Scriptures, it is not the body of Christ; and fall from the faith.

*Cran.* You interpret the Scriptures contrary to all the old writers, and feign a strange sense.

*Ambrose.* *Yong.* Ambrosius<sup>z</sup>, *De iis qui initiantur Sacris*, cap. 9, saith, “De totius mundi operibus legisti, quia *Ipse dixit, et facta sunt*; *ipse mandavit, et creata sunt*. Sermo Christi, “qui potuit ex nihilo facere quod non erat, non potest ea “quæ sunt in id mutare quæ non erant? Non enim minus “est novas res dare, quam mutare naturas. Sed quid argumentis utimur? suis utamur exemplis, incarnationisque “exemplo astruamus mysterii veritatem. Nunquid naturæ “usus præcessit, cum Dominus Jesus ex Maria nasceretur? “Si ordinem quærimus, viro mixta foemina generare consuevit. Liquet igitur, quod præter naturæ ordinem virgo “generavit; et hoc quod conficimus corpus ex Virgine est. “Quid hic quæris naturæ ordinem in Christi corpore, cum “præter naturam sit ipse Dominus Jesus partus ex virgine? “Vera utique caro Christi quæ crucifixa est, quæ sepulta “est: vere ergo illius sacramentum est. Clamat Dominus “Jesus, *Hoc est corpus meum*. Ante benedictionem verborum cœlestium alia species nominatur; post consecrationem corpus significatur. Ipse dicit sanguinem suum. “Ante consecrationem aliud dicitur: post consecrationem sanguis nuncupatur. Et tu dicis, ‘Amen,’ hoc est, ‘Verum est.’ Quod os loquitur, mens interna fateatur: quod sermo “sonat, affectus sentiat.”

That is to say:

“Thou hast read of the works of all the world, that *He spake the word, and they were made*; *he commanded, and they were created*. Cannot the word of Christ, which “made of nothing that which was not, change those things “that are into that they were not? For it is no less matter “to give new things than to change natures. But what use

<sup>z</sup> [See vol. ii. p. 326.]

“ we arguments ? Let us use his own examples, and let us  
 “ confirm the verity of the mystery by example of his in-  
 “ carnation. Did the use of nature go before, when the  
 “ Lord Jesus was born of Mary ? If you seek the order of  
 “ nature, conception is wont to be made by a woman joined  
 “ to a man. It is manifest therefore, that contrary to the  
 “ order of nature, a virgin did conceive ; and this body that  
 “ we make, is of the Virgin. What seekest thou here the  
 “ order of nature in the body of Christ, when against the  
 “ order of nature the Lord Jesus was conceived of a virgin ?  
 “ It was the true flesh of Christ which was crucified, and  
 “ which was buried : therefore it is truly the sacrament of  
 “ him. The Lord Jesus himself crieth, *This is my body*.  
 “ Before the blessing of the heavenly words, it is named  
 “ another kind ; but after the consecration, the body of  
 “ Christ is signified. He calleth it his blood. Before con-  
 “ secration it is called another thing : after consecration it  
 “ is called blood. And thou sayest, ‘ Amen ; ’ that is, ‘ It is  
 “ ‘ true.’ That the mouth speaketh, let the inward mind  
 “ confess ; that the word soundeth, let the heart perceive.”

As Christ  
 Jesus was  
 conceived  
 against the  
 order of  
 nature, so  
 in the in-  
 stituting of  
 this sacra-  
 ment the  
 order of  
 nature is  
 not to be  
 sought.

The same Ambrose, in his fourth book of Sacraments<sup>a</sup>, Ambrose.  
 the fourth chapter, saith thus : “ Panis iste panis est ante  
 “ verba sacramentorum ; ubi accesserit consecratio, de pane  
 “ fit caro Christi. Hoc igitur astruamus. Quomodo potest,  
 “ qui panis est, corpus esse Christi consecratione ? Conse-  
 “ cratio igitur quibus verbis est, et cujus sermonibus ? Do-  
 “ mini Jesu. Nam ad reliqua omnia quæ dicuntur, laus  
 “ Deo defertur, oratione petitur pro populo, pro regibus,  
 “ pro cæteris. Ubi venit ut conficiatur venerabile sacra-  
 “ mentum, jam non suis sermonibus sacerdos utitur, sed  
 “ sermonibus Christi. Ergo sermo Christi hoc conficit sa-  
 “ cramentum. Quis sermo ? Nempe is quo facta sunt om-  
 “ nia. Jussit Dominus, et factum est cælum ; jussit Domi-  
 “ nus, et facta est terra ; jussit Dominus, et facta sunt maria,  
 “ &c. Vides ergo quam operatorius sit sermo Christi. Si  
 “ ergo tanta vis est in sermone Domini, ut inciperent esse

<sup>a</sup> [See vol. ii. p. 326.]

“quæ non erant, quanto magis operatorius est, ut sint quæ  
“erant, et in aliud commutentur?”

That is to say :

The words  
of Ambrose  
in English.

“This bread is bread before the words of the sacraments ;  
“when the consecration cometh to it, of bread it is made  
“the flesh of Christ. Let us confirm this therefore. How  
“can that which is bread, by consecration be the body of  
“Christ? By what words then is the consecration made,  
“and by whose words? By the words of our Lord Jesus.  
“For touching all other things that are said, praise is given  
“to God, prayer is made for the people, for kings, and for  
“the rest. When it cometh that the reverend sacrament  
“must be made, then the priest useth not his own words,  
“but the words of Christ: therefore the word of Christ  
“maketh this sacrament. What word? That word by  
“which all things were made. The Lord commanded, and  
“heaven was made; the Lord commanded, and the earth  
“was made; the Lord commanded, and the seas were  
“made; the Lord commanded, and all creatures were  
“made<sup>b</sup>. Dost thou not see then how strong in working  
“the word of Christ is? If therefore so great strength be  
“in the Lord’s word, that those things should begin to be,  
“which were not before, how much the rather is it of  
“strength to work, that these things which were, should be  
“changed into another thing?” Ambrose saith, that the  
words are of strength to work.

*West.* You omit those words which follow, which maketh  
the sense of Ambrose plain. Read them.

Ambrose.

*Yong.* “<sup>c</sup> Cælum non erat, mare non erat, terra non erat.  
“Sed audi dicentem, *Ipse dixit, et facta sunt; ipse mandavit,*  
“*et creata sunt.* Ergo tibi ut respondeam, non erat corpus  
“Christi ante consecrationem, sed post consecrationem. Dico  
“tibi quod jam corpus Christi est.” That is: “Heaven  
“was not, the sea was not, the earth was not. But hear

Alloiosis  
rerum et  
symbolo-  
rum.

<sup>b</sup> But the Lord Jesus here used not such words of commanding in  
the sacrament as in the creation; for we read not ‘fiat hoc corpus  
‘meum,’ as we read *fiat lux*, &c.

<sup>c</sup> *De Sacram.* cap. 5.

“him that said, *He spake the word, and they were made ;*  
 “*he commanded, and they were created.* Therefore, to  
 “answer thee, it was not the body of Christ before conse-  
 “cration, but after the consecration. I say to thee, that  
 “now it is the body of Christ.”

*Cran.* All these things are common. I say, that God doth chiefly work in the sacraments.

*Yong.* How doth he work ?

*Cran.* By his power, as he doth in baptism.

*Yong.* Nay, by the word he changeth the bread into his body. This is the truth : acknowledge the truth, give place to the truth.

*Cran.* O glorious words ! you are too full of words.

*Yong.* Nay, O glorious truth ! you make no change at all.

*Cran.* Not so, but I make a great change ; as in them that are baptized is there not a great change, when the child, of the bondsman of the Devil is made the son of God ? So it is also in the sacrament of the Supper, when he receiveth us into his protection and favour.

*Yong.* If he work in the sacraments, he worketh in this sacrament.

*Cran.* God worketh in his faithful, not in the sacraments.

*West.* In the Supper the words are directed to the bread ; in baptism, to the Spirit. He said not, The water is the Spirit ; but of the bread he said, *This is my body.*

*Cran.* He called the Spirit a dove, when the Spirit descended in likeness of a dove.

<sup>d</sup>*West.* He doth not call the Spirit a dove ; but he saith, that he descended as a dove : he was seen in the likeness of a dove. As in baptism the words are directed to him that is baptized, so in the Supper the words are directed unto the bread.

*Cran.* Nay, it is written, *Upon whomsoever thou shalt see the Spirit descending.* He calleth that which descend-

<sup>d</sup> [The manuscript in the Public Library at Cambridge attributes this explanation to Cole, and the following argument from Ambrose to Weston.]

Augustine. ed, the Holy Spirit. And Augustine calleth the dove the Spirit. Hear what Augustine saith in John i: "Quid voluit per columbam, id est, per Spiritum Sanctum? Docere, qui miserat eum." That is, "What meant he by the dove, that is, by the Holy Ghost? Forsooth, to teach who sent him."

Ambrose again repeated.

Yong. He understandeth of the Spirit descending as a dove: the Spirit is invisible. If you mind to have the truth heard, let us proceed. Hear what Ambrose saith<sup>c</sup>: "Vides quam operatorius sit sermo Christi. Si ergo tanta vis in sermone Domini," &c. *ut supra*. That is, "You see what a working power the word of Christ hath. Therefore, if there be so great power in the Lord's word, that those things which were not, begin to be, how much more of strength is it to work, that those things that were, should be changed into another thing?"

And in the fifth chapter: "Antequam consecratur, panis est: ubi autem verba Christi accesserint, corpus est Christi:" i. e. "Before it is consecrated, it is bread; but when the words of Christ come to it, it is the body of Christ."

But hear what he saith more: "*Accipite, edite; hoc est corpus meum: Take ye, eat ye; this is my body.* Ante verba Christi, calix est vini et aquæ plenus: ubi verba Christi operata fuerint, ibi sanguis Christi efficitur, qui redemit plebem:" i. e. "Before the words of Christ, the cup is full of wine and water; when the words of Christ have wrought, there is made the blood of Christ which redeemed the people." What can be more plain?

Answer to Ambrose.

Cran. Nay, what can be less to the purpose? The words are of strength to work in this sacrament, as they are in baptism.

Pie. The words of Christ, as Ambrose saith, are of strength to work. What do they work? Ambrose saith, they make the blood which redeemed the people:

*Ergo, The natural blood is made.*

<sup>c</sup> *De Sacram. cap. 4.*

*Cran.* The sacrament of his blood is made. The words make the blood to them that receive it: not that the blood is in the cup, but in the receiver.

*Pie.* There is made the blood which redeemed the people.

*Cran.* The blood is made, that is, the sacrament of the blood, by which he redeemed the people. "Fit," "it is made;" that is to say, "ostenditur," "it is showed forth thereof." And Ambrose saith, we receive in a similitude: "As thou hast received the similitude of his death, so also thou drinkest the similitude of his precious blood."

*West.* He saith, "in a similitude," because it is ministered under another likeness. And this is the argument:

There is made the blood which redeemed the people;

But the natural blood redeemed the people:

*Ergo,* There is the natural blood of Christ.

You answer, that words make it blood to them that receive it; not that blood is in the cup, but because it is made blood to them that receive it. That all men may see how falsely you would avoid the Fathers, hear what Ambrose Ambrose. saith in the sixth book and first chapter.

"<sup>h</sup> Forte dicas, quomodo vera? qui similitudinem video, non video sanguinis veritatem. Primo omnium dixi tibi de sermone Christi, qui operatur, ut possit mutare et convertere genera instituta naturæ. Deinde ubi non tulerunt sermonem Christi discipuli ejus, audientes quod carnem suam daret manducari, et sanguinem suum daret bibendum, recedebant. Solus tamen Petrus dixit, *Verba vitæ æternæ habes, et ego a te quomodo recedam?* Ne igitur plures hoc dicerent, veluti quidam esset horror cruoris, sed maneret gratia redemptionis, ideo in similitudinem quidem accipis sacramentum, sed vere naturæ gratiam virtutemque consequeris."

That is to say:

"Peradventure thou wilt say, How be they true? I which

<sup>f</sup> ["*Cant.* Fit sanguis, id est, ostenditur sanguis. Ex hoc responso orta sunt sibilâ." MS. Public Library, Cambridge.]

<sup>g</sup> If this syllogism be in the second figure, as by standing of the terms appeareth, then is it false, because it concludeth affirmatively.

<sup>h</sup> *De Sacramentis*, lib. vi. cap. 1.

Mark how  
Dr. Weston  
expoundeth  
to eat in a  
similitude.

Operari.  
Mutare.

“ see the similitude, do not see the truth of the blood. First  
 “ of all I told thee of the word of Christ, which so worketh,  
 “ that it can change and turn kinds ordained by nature.  
 “ Afterward, when the disciples could not abide the words  
 “ of Christ, hearing that he gave his flesh to eat, and his  
 “ blood to drink, they departed. Only Peter said, *Thou*  
 “ *hast the words of eternal life ; whether should I go from*  
 “ *thee ?* Lest therefore mo should say this thing, as though  
 “ there should be a certain horror of blood, and yet the  
 “ grace of redemption should remain ; therefore in a simili-  
 “ tude thou receivest the sacrament, but indeed thou ob-  
 “ tainest the grace and power of his nature.”

Answer to  
 Ambrose.

*Cran.* These words of themselves are plain enough.  
 And he read this place again : “ Thou receivest the sacra-  
 “ ment for a similitude.” But what is that he saith, “ Thou  
 “ receivest for a similitude ? ” I think he understandeth the  
 sacrament to be the similitude of his blood <sup>i</sup>.

*Ched.* That you may understand, that truth dissenteth not  
 from truth, to overthrow that which you say of that simili-  
 tude, hear what Ambrose saith, lib. iv. cap. 4. *De Sacrament.*

Ambrose.

“ Si operatus est sermo cœlestis in aliis rebus, non opera-  
 “ tur in sacramentis cœlestibus ? Ergo didicisti quod e pane  
 “ corpus fiat Christi, et quod vinum et aqua in calicem  
 “ mittitur, sed fit sanguis consecratione verbi cœlestis. Sed  
 “ forte dices, speciem sanguinis non video. Sed habet simi-  
 “ litudinem. Sicut enim mortis similitudinem sumpsisti,  
 “ ita etiam similitudinem pretiosi sanguinis bibis ; ut nullus  
 “ horror cruoris sit, et pretium tamen operetur redemptionis.  
 “ Didicisti ergo, quia quod accipis corpus est Christi.”

That is to say :

“ If the heavenly word did work in other things, doth it  
 “ not work in the heavenly sacraments ? Therefore thou  
 “ hast learned, that of bread is made the body of Christ,  
 “ and that wine and water is put into that cup, but by con-  
 “ secration of the heavenly word it is made blood. But

<sup>i</sup> [Here is added in the manuscript in the Public Library at Cambridge,

“ *West.* Are ye not weary ?

“ *Cran.* No, Sir.”]



“ thou wilt say peradventure, that the likeness of blood is  
 “ not seen. But it hath a similitude. For as thou hast  
 “ received the similitude of his death, so also thou drinkest  
 “ the similitude of his precious blood ; so that there is no  
 “ horror of blood, and yet it worketh the price of redemp-  
 “ tion. Therefore thou hast learned, that that which thou  
 “ receivest is the body of Christ.”

*Note, that Ambrose saith, We drink a similitude of Christ's blood.*

*Cran.* He speaketh of sacraments sacramentally. He calleth the sacraments by the names of the things ; for he useth the signs for the things signified : and therefore the bread is not called bread, but his body, for the excellency and dignity of the thing signified by it. So doth Ambrose interpret himself, when he saith, “ In cujus typum nos calicem mysticum sanguinis ad tuitionem corporis et animæ nostræ percepimus.” 1 Cor. xi.<sup>k</sup>

*Answer to the place of Ambrose. Sacraments be called by the name of the things. Ambrose.*

That is to say :

“ For a type or figure whereof we receive the mystical  
 “ cup of his blood, for the safeguard of our bodies and  
 “ souls.”

*Ched.* A type ! he calleth not the blood of Christ a type or sign ; but the blood of bulls and goats in that respect was a type or sign.

*Cran.* This is new learning ; you shall never read this among the Fathers.

*Ched.* But Ambrose saith so.

*Cran.* He calleth the bread and the cup a type or sign of the blood of Christ and of his benefit.

*West.* Ambrose understandeth it for a type of his benefit, that is, of redemption ; not of the blood of Christ, but of his passion. The cup is the type or sign of his death, seeing it is his blood.

*Cran.* He saith most plainly, that the cup is the type of Christ's blood.

*Ambrose alleged against*

*Ched.* As Christ is truly and really incarnate, so is he truly and really in the sacrament ;

*Ambrose. Argument.*

But Christ is really and truly incarnate :

<sup>k</sup> [Erasmus questioned the genuineness of this Commentary, and later writers have generally held it to be spurious. See ed. Bened. tom. ii. App. p. 21.]

*Ergo*, The body of Christ is truly and really in the sacrament.

*Cran.* I deny the Major.

*Justin.* *Ched.* I prove the Major out of Justine, in his second Apology! : Ὁν τρόπον διὰ λόγου Θεοῦ σαρκοποιηθεὶς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν, καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἔσχεν, οὕτω καὶ τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ἐκείνου τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι.

*Answer to the place of Justinus.* *Cran.* This place hath been falsified by Marcus Constantius<sup>m</sup>. Justine meant nothing else, but that the bread which nourisheth us, is called the body of Christ.

*Ched.* To the argument. As Christ is truly and naturally incarnate, &c. *ut supra*.

*Cran.* I deny your Major.

*Ched.* The words of Justine are thus to be interpreted word for word :

*Mutationem.*

“ Quemadmodum per verbum Dei caro factus Jesus  
“ Christus Salvator noster, carnem habuit et sanguinem  
“ pro salute nostra ; sic et cibum illum consecratum per sermonem precatationis ab ipso institutæ, quo sanguis carnes-  
“ que nostræ per communionem nutriuntur, ejusdem Jesu,  
“ qui caro factus est, carnem et sanguinem esse accepimus.”

That is to say :

“ As by the word of God, Jesus Christ our Saviour,  
“ being made flesh, had both flesh and blood for our salvation ; so we are taught, that the meat<sup>n</sup> consecrated by the

<sup>1</sup> [See *Answer to Gardyner* ; (vol. iii. p. 405.) and the *Authorities* in the Appendix.]

<sup>m</sup> [Marcus Constantius was the fictitious name under which Gardyner published his *Confutatio Cavillationum*, &c. See Preface. The following is his translation : “ Cibum illum, ex quo sanguis et carnes nostræ  
“ per mutationem nutriuntur, postquam per verbum precatationis fuerit  
“ ab eodem benedictus, edocti sumus esse carnem et sanguinem illius  
“ Jesu, qui pro nobis fuit incarnatus.” Peter Martyr's complaint against it is, that the clause “ ex quo——nutriuntur ” is transposed, for the purpose of avoiding the inference which may be drawn from the original expressions of Justin, that the bread and wine *after* consecration as well as *before*, nourish our bodies by the ordinary process of digestion. Gardyner, *Confutat.* object. 151 ; P. Martyr, *De Eucharist.* p. 311. See vol. iii. p. 407.]

<sup>n</sup> [Of thanksgiving.]

“ word of prayer instituted of him, whereby our blood and  
 “ flesh are nourished by communion<sup>o</sup>, is the flesh and blood  
 “ of the same Jesus which was made flesh.”

*Cran.* You have translated it well; but I deny your Answer.

*Major.* This is the sense of Justine; that that bread is called the body of Christ, and yet of that sanctified meat our bodies are nourished.

*Ched.* Nay, he saith, of that sanctified meat both our bodies and souls are nourished.

*Cran.* He saith not so; but he saith that it nourisheth Δίψα καὶ  
σάβωσι, i. e.  
 our flesh and blood: and how can that nourish the soul, “ blood and  
 that nourisheth the flesh and blood? ” “ flesh.”

*Cole.* It feedeth the body by the soul.

*Cran.* Speak uprightly. Can that which is received by the soul and the spirit, be called the meat of the body?

*West.* Hear then what Irenæus saith: “ Eum calicem Irenæus.  
 “ qui est creatura, suum corpus confirmavit, ex quo nostra  
 “ auget corpora. Quando et mixtus calix, et fractus panis  
 “ percipit verbum Dei, fit Eucharistia sanguinis et corporis  
 “ Christi; ex quibus augetur et consistit carnis nostræ sub-  
 “ stantia.” “ This, the same cup which is a creature, he  
 “ confirmed to be his body, by which he increaseth our bo-  
 “ dies. When both the cup mixed, and the bread broken,  
 “ hath joined to it the word of God, it is made the sacra-  
 “ ment of the body and blood of Christ, of which the sub-  
 “ stance of our flesh is increased and consisteth.”

The substance of our flesh is increased by the body and Argument.  
 blood of Christ:

*Ergo,* Our body is nourished by the body and blood of Christ.

*Cran.* I deny your argument. He calleth it the flesh Irenæus  
 and blood, for the sacrament of the body and blood, as answered  
by Tertul-  
lian.  
 Tertullian also saith: “ Nutritur corpus pane symbolico,  
 “ anima corpore Christi.” That is, “ Our flesh is nourished  
 “ with symbolical or sacramental bread, but our soul is  
 “ nourished with the body of Christ.”

*West.* Look what he saith more: “ <sup>n</sup> Quomodo carnem

<sup>n</sup> Irenæus, lib. v. post duo fol. a principio.

<sup>o</sup> Mutation.

“negant capacem esse donationis Dei quæ est vita æterna,  
 “quæ sanguine et corpore Christi nutritur?” That is,  
 “How do they say, that the flesh cannot receive the gift  
 “of God, that is, eternal life, which is nourished with the  
 “blood and body of Christ?”

*Cran.* The body is nourished both with the sacrament  
 and with the body of Christ: with the sacrament to a tem-  
 poral life; with the body of Christ to eternal life.

*Ched.* I cannot but be sorry when I see such a manifest  
 lie in your writings°. For where you translate Justine on  
 this fashion; “that the bread, water, and wine are not so  
 “to be taken in this sacrament, as common meats and drinks  
 “are wont to be taken of us; but are meats chosen out pe-  
 “culiarly for this, namely, for the giving of thanks; and  
 “therefore be called of the Greeks *Eucharistia*, that is,  
 “‘thanksgiving:’ they are called moreover the blood and  
 “body of Christ:” (so have you translated it:) the words  
 of Justine are thus: “We are taught, that the meat con-  
 “secrated by the word of prayer, by the which our flesh  
 “and blood is nourished by communion, is the body and  
 “blood of the same Jesus which was made flesh.”

Note, that  
 the Arch-  
 bishop here  
 did not  
 translate  
 the words  
 of Justine,  
 but only  
 gather the  
 effect of his  
 meaning.

Cranmer  
 purgeth  
 himself.

*Cran.* I did not translate it word for word, but only I  
 gave the meaning; and I go nothing from his meaning.

*Harps.* You remember, touching Justine, to whom this  
 Apology was written, namely, to an heathen man. The  
 heathen thought that the Christians came to the church to  
 worship bread. Justin answereth, that we come not to  
 common bread, but as to, &c. as is said before. Weigh the  
 place well; it is right worthy to be noted. Our flesh is  
 nourished according to mutation.

In eating  
 the sacra-  
 ment, no  
 bread is  
 considered,  
 but only  
 the true  
 body of  
 Christ.

*Cran.* We ought not to consider the bare bread; but  
 whosoever cometh to the sacrament, eateth the true body of  
 Christ.

° [This accusation was repeated by Ward, in the Disputation with  
 Ridley. On which Ridley exclaimed, “O good Master Doctor, go sin-  
 “cerely to work: I know that place, and I know how it is used.” He  
 then proceeded to complain of the transposition pointed out in note  
 (m) p. 60. Foxe, *Acts*, &c. vol. iii. p. 73. See vol. ii. p. 321; and  
 vol. iii. p. 407.]

*West.* You have corrupted<sup>p</sup> Emissenus; for instead of "cibis satiandus," that is, "to be filled with meat," you have set "cibis satiandus spiritualibus," that is, "to be filled with spiritual meats."

*Cran.* I have not corrupted it; for it is so in the Decrees<sup>q</sup>.

*West.* You have corrupted another place of Emissenus; for you have omitted these words: "Mirare, cum reverendum altare cibis spiritualibus satiandus ascendis: sacrum Dei tui corpus et sanguinem fide respice; honorem mirare; merito continget," &c. That is, "Marvel thou, when thou comest up to the reverend altar to be filled with spiritual meats: look in faith to the holy body and blood of thy God; marvel at his honour; worthily touch him."

*Cran.* This book hath not that<sup>r</sup>.

*West.* Also, you have falsified this place by evil translating: "Honora corpus Dei tui," i. e. "Honour the body of thy God." You have translated it, "Honora eum qui est Deus tuus," i. e. "Honour him which is thy God." Whereas Emissenus hath not "honour him," but "honour the body of thy God."

*Cran.* I have so translated him; and yet no less truly, than not without a weighty cause: else it should not have been without danger, if I had translated it thus; "Honour the body of thy God;" because of certain, that according to the error of the Anthropomorphites, dreamed that God had a body.

*West.* Nay, you most of all have brought the people into that error, which so long have taught, that he sitteth at the right hand of God the Father; and counted me for an he-

<sup>p</sup> [See Cranmer's translation, vol. ii. p. 323, and the original among the *Authorities* in the Appendix: from a comparison of which it will appear, that the charge of corruption was unfounded.]

<sup>q</sup> *De Consecrat.* dist. 2. "Quia."

<sup>r</sup> [See the original in the *Authorities*, which fully justifies Cranmer's assertion. It is strange that Weston, in the very act of charging another with false quotation, should himself be so audacious as to substitute "merito continget" for "mente continget."]

<sup>s</sup> [This "evil translating" is not stated quite correctly. Cranmer's words are, "Look upon the body and blood of him that is thy God; honour him, touch him with thy mind," &c. See vol. ii. p. 323; and vol. iii. p. 415.]

retic, because I preached, that God had no right hand.  
Then I will oppose you in the very articles of your faith.

Argument. Christ sitteth at the right hand of God the Father;  
But God the Father hath no right hand:

*Ergo*, Where is Christ now?

The right  
hand of  
God, what  
it signifieth. *Cran.* I am not so ignorant a novice in the articles of my  
faith, but that I understand, that to sit at the right hand of  
God doth signify, to be equal in the glory of the Father.

*West.* Now then take this argument:

Wheresoever God's authority is, there is Christ's body;  
But God's authority is in every place:

*Ergo*, What letteth the body of Christ to be in every  
place?

Cranmer  
charged  
with mis-  
translating  
Duns. Moreover, you have also corrupted Duns.

*Cran.* That is a great offence, I promise you.

*West.* For you have omitted "*secundum apparentiam*,"  
i. e. "as it appeareth;" where his words are these: "*Et si*  
"*quæras, quare voluit Ecclesia eligere istum intellectum ita*  
"*difficilem hujus articuli, cum verba Scripturæ possent sal-*  
"*vari secundum intellectum facilem et veriozem, secundum*  
"*apparentiam, de hoc articulo,*" &c.<sup>t</sup> That is, "If you  
"*demand, why the Church did choose this so hard an un-*  
"*derstanding of this article, whereas the words of Scripture*  
"*may be salved after an easy and true understanding, as*  
"*appeareth, of this article,*" &c.

*Cran.* It is not so.

Dr. Cran-  
mer chal-  
lenged  
for set-  
ting forth  
the Cate-  
chism in  
the name of  
the Convo-  
cation. *West.* Also, you have set forth a Catechism in the name  
of the Synod of London, and yet there be fifty, which wit-  
nessing that they were of the number of that Convocation,  
never heard one word of this Catechism.

*Cran.* I was ignorant of the setting to of that title; and  
as soon as I had knowledge thereof, I did not like it:

<sup>t</sup> [See *Defence*, vol. ii. p. 333. Cranmer did not, as he was charged, omit the words "*secundum apparentiam*;" but it may be questioned whether he rightly translated them. The sentence proceeds thus: "*dico, quod eo Spiritu expositæ sunt Scripturæ, quo conditæ. Et ita supponendum est, quod Ecclesia catholica eo Spiritu exposuit, quo tradita est nobis fides, Spiritu scilicet veritatis edocta, et ideo hunc intellectum eligit quia verus est.*" Scotus, *In Sentent.* lib. iv. dist. ii. qu. 3. ed. Hiq. tom. viii. p. 619.]

therefore, when I complained thereof to the Council, it was answered me by them, that the book was so entitled, because it was set forth in the time of the Convocation <sup>u</sup>.

Dr. Cranmer purgeth himself concerning the Catechism.

*West.* Moreover, you have in Duns translated "In Romana Ecclesia," pro "Ecclesia catholica;" "In the Church of Rome," for "the catholic Church."

*Cran.* Yea, but he meant the Romish Church.

*West.* Moreover, you have depraved St. Thomas<sup>x</sup>; namely, where he hath these words; "In quantum vero est sacrificium, habet vim satisfactivam: sed in satisfactione attenditur magis affectio offerentis, quam quantitas oblationis. Unde Dominus dicit apud Lucam de vidua quæ obtulit duo æra, quod plus omnibus misit. Quamvis ergo hæc oblatio ex sui quantitate sufficiat ad satisfaciendum pro omni pœna: tamen fit satisfactoria illis pro quibus offertur, vel etiam offerentibus, secundum quantitatem suæ devotionis, et non pro tota pœna." That is, "Inasmuch as it is a sacrifice, it hath the power of satisfaction: but in satisfaction the affection of the offerer is more to be

Dr. Cranmer charged with mistranslating Th. Aquinas.

<sup>u</sup> [A different explanation of this title was given by Philpot; who in the Convocation of the preceding October, "stood up, and spake concerning the Catechism, that he thought they were deceived in the title of the Catechism, in that it beareth the title of the Synod of London last before this, although many of them which were then present, were never made privy thereof in setting it forth; for that this House had granted the authority to make ecclesiastical laws unto certain persons to be appointed by the King's Majesty; and whatsoever ecclesiastical laws they, or the most part of them, did set forth, according to a statute in that behalf provided, it might well be said to be done in the Synod of London, although such as be of this House now had no notice thereof before the promulgation." Foxe, vol. iii. p. 20. See also Lamb, *Hist. of the XXXIX. Articles*, p. 8. It is a question who was the author of this Catechism. By the Oxford disputants it was attributed, on the assertion, as they pretended, of Cranmer, to Ridley: but Ridley himself, though he admitted that he noted many things for it and consented to it, denied that he was its author. It has been ascribed also to Ponet, Bp. of Winchester, and to Alex. Nowell. Ward, one of the English divines sent to the Synod of Dort, believed it to be Nowell's; and Strype, in his later publications, expresses the same opinion. But it must be confessed that his reasons are not convincing. See Burn. *Ref.* vol. iii. p. 410. Strype, *Cranm.* p. 294; *Memor.* vol. ii. p. 368; *Annals*, vol. i. p. 353. Preface to *Cranmer's Catechism*, Oxford, 1829.]

<sup>x</sup> [See *Answer to Gardiner*, (vol. iii. p. 156.)]

“ weighed than the quantity of the oblation. Wherefore  
 “ the Lord said in Luke’s Gospel of the widow which  
 “ offered two mites, that she *cast in more than they all*.  
 “ Therefore although this oblation of the quantity of itself  
 “ will suffice to satisfy for all pain, yet it is made satisfac-  
 “ tory to them for whom it is offered, or to the offerers,  
 “ according to the quantity of their devotion, and not for  
 “ all the pain.”

You have thus turned it; “ *Quod sacrificium sacerdotis  
 “ habet vim satisfactivam,*” &c. That is, “ That the sacri-  
 “ fice of the priest hath power of satisfaction,” &c. And  
 therefore in this place you have chopped in this word “ sa-  
 “ cerdotis,” “ of the priest;” whereas in the translation of  
 all the New Testament you have not set it, but where Christ  
 was put to death. And again, where St. Thomas hath “ pro  
 “ omni pœna,” “ for all pain,” your book omitteth many  
 things there *⁊*.

Weston  
 triumpheth  
 before the  
 victory.

Thus you see, brethren, the truth steadfast and invinci-  
 ble; you see also the craft and deceit of heretics: the truth  
 may be pressed, but it cannot be oppressed. Therefore  
 cry altogether, “ *Vincit veritas;*” i. e. “ The truth over-  
 “ cometh *⁊*.”

This disordered Disputation, sometime in Latin, sometime  
 in English, continued almost till two of the clock. Which  
 being finished, and the arguments written, and delivered to  
 the hands of Mr. Say, the prisoner was had away by the  
 Mayor, and the doctors dined together at the University  
 College.

*⁊* [The manuscript in the Public Library, Cambridge, gives Cran-  
 mer’s answer to this charge:

“ *Cran.* Because I would not write all that long treatise.”]

*⁊* [It appears from the manuscript in the Public Library, Cambridge,  
 that Cranmer, having filled the respondent’s place, now demanded, ac-  
 cording to the practice of scholastic disputations, to argue as oppo-  
 nent.

“ *Cran.* *Oppono: vos respondete scripturis.*

“ *West.* *Habebis alium diem ad opponendum.*”

This day was the following Thursday, April 19; Tuesday and Wed-  
 nesday having been occupied by the Disputations with Ridley and  
 Latymer.]



[*Disputation at Oxford with Harpsfield, April,*  
1554.]

It followed furthermore . . . that Mr. Harpsfield, . . . the Foxe, *Acts*  
nineteenth of April, should dispute for his form, to be <sup>and Monu-</sup>  
made Doctor. To the which Disputation the Archbishop of <sup>ments,</sup>  
Canterbury was brought forth, and permitted, among the <sup>vol. iii.</sup>  
rest, to utter an argument or two in defence of his cause. <sup>p. 86, &c.</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Disputation of Master Harpsfield, Bachelor of Divinity,*  
*answering for his form to be made Doctor.*

[The argument against Harpsfield was supported for some time by Weston, who concluded with a quotation from Fulgentius. After which,] not waiting Harpsfield's answer, he offered Mr. Cranmer to dispute; who began in this wise <sup>b</sup>.

*Cran.* I have heard you right learnedly and eloquently entreat of the dignity of the Scriptures, which I do both commend and have marvelled thereat within myself. But whereas you refer the true sense and judgment of the Scrip-  
tures to the catholic Church, as judge thereof, you are much <sup>The opi-</sup>  
deceived; specially, for that under the name of the Church, <sup>nion of Mr.</sup>  
you appoint such judges as have corruptly judged, and <sup>Harpsfield</sup>  
contrary to the sense of the Scriptures. I wonder likewise <sup>reproved,</sup>  
<sup>referring</sup>  
<sup>the sense of</sup>  
<sup>the Scrip-</sup>

<sup>a</sup> [The following is the title of this Disputation in the manuscript in the Public Library, Cambridge:

"*Disputationes habitæ Oxoniæ de vera præsentia naturalis et organi corporis Christi in sacramento altaris.*

"*Defendit D. Harpsfield veritatem, respondentis agens partes.*

"*Opponit primum D. Weston disputandi gratia, deinde D. Cranmerus ex suæ opinionis fide.*"

<sup>b</sup> [An Oxford scholar, who was present at this Disputation, relates, that Cranmer "passed all men's expectation in doing the same. I myself, which did ever think that he was better learned than many reported he was, yet would I have thought he could not have done so well, nor would not have believed it, if I had not heard him myself." Foxe, *Acts*, &c. 1st edit. p. 935.]

ture rather why you attribute so little to the diligent reading of the  
 to the judg- Scriptures, and conferring of places; seeing the Scriptures  
 ment of the Church, do so much commend the same, as well in divers other  
 than to the diligent places, as also in those which you yourself have already  
 reading and alleged. And as touching your opinion of these questions,  
 conferring of places. it seemeth to me neither to have any ground of the word of  
 God, nor of the primitive Church. And to say the truth,  
 the Schoolmen have spoken diversely of them, and do not  
 agree thereof among themselves. Wherefore, minding here  
 briefly to show my judgment also, I must desire you first  
 to answer to me a few questions, which I shall demand of  
 you. Which being done, we shall the better proceed in our  
 disputation. Moreover, I must desire you to bear also with  
 my rudeness in the Latin tongue, which, through long dis-  
 use, is not now so prompt and ready with me as it hath  
 been. And now, all other things set apart, I mind chiefly  
 to have regard to the truth. My first question is this;  
 How Christ's body is in the sacrament, according to your  
 mind or determination?

Christ pre- Then answered a doctor, He is there as touching his sub-  
 sent in the sacrament stance, but not after the manner of his substance.

in sub- *Harps.* He is there in such sort and manner as he may  
 stance, but be eaten.

not after the manner of sub- *Cran.* My next question is, Whether he hath his quan-  
 stance. tity and qualities, form, figure, and such like properties?

*Harps.* Are these your questions? said Master Harps-  
 field. I may likewise ask you, When Christ passed through  
 the Virgin's womb, *an ruperit necne?*

When they had thus a while contended, there were divers  
 opinions in this matter.

The rab- All the doctors fell in a buzzing, uncertain what to an-  
 bins could not agree among themselves. swer: some thought one way, some another; and thus  
 Master doctors could not agree<sup>c</sup>.

Then Master Cranmer said thus: You put off questions

<sup>c</sup> [According to the account of the Oxford scholar, "they were mad  
 "with him for asking, whether there were in the natural body of Christ  
 "a proportion, space, or distance betwixt member and member." Foxe,  
*Acts*, &c. 1st edit. p. 935.]

with questions, and not with answers; I ask one thing of you, and you answer another. Once again I ask, Whether he have those properties which he had on the earth?

*Tresh.* No, he hath not all the quantities and qualities belonging to a body. Christ's body without his properties in the sacrament.

*Smith.* Stay you, Mr. Tresham. I will answer you, Mr. Doctor, with the words of Damascene, "Transformatur panis," &c.; "The bread is transformed," &c. But if thou wilt inquire how, "Modus impossibilis;" "The manner is impossible."

Then two or three others added their answers to this question, somewhat doubtfully. A great hurly-burly was among them, some affirming one thing, and some another. The doctors in a doubt.

*Cran.* Do you appoint me a body, and cannot tell what manner of body? Either he hath not his quantity, or else you are ignorant how to answer it.

*Harps.* These are vain questions, and it is not meet to spend the time on them.

*West.* Hear me a while: Lanfrancus<sup>d</sup>, sometime Bishop of Canterbury, doth answer in this wise unto Berengarius, upon such like questions; "Salubriter credi possunt, fide-liter quæri non possunt;" i. e. "They may be well believed, but never faithfully asked." Lanfrancus.

*Cran.* If you think good to answer it, some of you declare it.

*Harps.* He is there as pleaseth him to be there.

*Cran.* I would be best contented with that answer, if that your appointing of a carnal presence had not driven me of necessity to have inquired, for disputation's sake, how you place him there, since you will have a natural body.

When again he was answered of divers at one time; some denying it to be a *quantum*, some saying it to be *quantitativum*; some affirming it to have *modum quanti*, some denying it; some one thing, some another: up starts Dr. Weston, and doughtily decided, as he thought, all the matter, saying, "It is *corpus quantum, sed non per modum quanti*;" The papists would have Christ's body in the sacrament, but they cannot tell how.

<sup>d</sup> Contra Berengarium.

i. e. "It is a body," saith he, "having quantity, but not " according to the manner of quantity."

Mr. Ward  
in the misty  
clouds of  
Duns his  
quiddities.

Whereunto Master Ward, a great sophister<sup>c</sup>, thinking the matter not fully answered, did largely declare and discourse his sentence: how learnedly and truly I cannot tell, nor I think he himself neither, ne yet the best learned there. For it was said since, that far better learned than he laid as good ear to him as they could, and yet could by no means perceive to what end all his talk tended. Indeed he told a formal tale to clout up the matter. He was full of *quantum* and *quantitativum*. This that follows was, as it is thought, the effect; yet others think no. Howbeit we will rehearse the sum of his words, as it is thought he spake them.

Aristotle  
must help  
to tell us  
how Christ  
is in the  
sacrament.  
Christ *sine*  
*modo quan-*  
*titativo* in  
the sacra-  
ment.

*Ward.* We must consider, saith he, that there are *duæ positiones*, two positions. The one standeth by the order of parts, with respect of the whole; the other in respect of that which containeth. Christ is in the sacrament in respect of the whole. This proposition is, in one of Aristotle's Predicaments, called *situs*. I remember I did entreat these matters very largely, when I did rule and moderate the Philosophical Disputations in the Public Schools. This position is *sine modo quantitativo*, as, by an ensample, you can never bring heaven to a quantity. So I conclude that he is in the sacrament *quantum, sine modo quantitativo*.

These words he amplified very largely; and so high he climbed into the heavens with Duns's ladder, and not with the Scriptures, that it is to be marvelled how he could come down again, without falling. To whom Mr. Cranmer said, Then thus do I make mine argument.

Dr. Cran-  
mer's argu-  
ment.

*Cran.* In heaven his body had quantity; in earth it hath none, by your saying:

*Ergo*, He hath two bodies; the one in heaven, the other in earth.

Here some would have answered him, that he had quan-

<sup>c</sup> [In the first edition of Foxe, "philosopher" is read in the place of "sophister." p. 988.]

tity in both, and so put off the Antecedent; but thus said Mr. Harpsfield:

*Harps.* I deny your argument: though some would not have had him say so.

*Cran.* The argument is good: it standeth upon contradictories, which is the most sure hold.

*Harps.* I deny that there are contradictions.

*Cran.* I thus prove it: *Habere modum quantitativum et non habere, sunt contradictoria;*

*Sed Christus in cælis, ut dicitis, habet modum quantitativum, in terra non habet:*

*Ergo, Duo sunt corpora ejus, in quæ cadunt hæc contradictoria: nam in idem cadere non possunt<sup>f</sup>.*

*West.* I deny the Minor.

*Harps.* I answer, that the Major is not true: for *habere quantum, et non habere, non sunt contradictoria, nisi considerentur ejusdem ad idem, eodem modo et simpliciter.*

*West.* I confirm the same: for one body may have *modum quantitativum*, and not have; and *idem corpus* was passible and impassible; one body may have wounds, and not wounds.

*Cran.* This cannot be at one time.

*West.* The ensample of the potter doth prove that which I say; who, of that which is clay now, maketh a pot or cup forthwith.

*Cran.* But I say again, that it is so, but at divers times; as one piece of meat to be raw and sodden cannot be at one time together. But you would have it otherwise, that Christ should be here and in heaven at one time, and should have *modum quantitativum*, and not have: which cannot be, by such argument as I have showed you.

*West.* But I say, Christ's body was passible and not passible at one instant.

<sup>f</sup> Aristotle 4. Metaph. "Impossibile est idem simul esse et non esse."

<sup>g</sup> Passible and impassible cannot stand together in one subject, *simul et ejusdem respectu et eodem tempore, propter rerum pugnantiam.* Christ's body to be passible, and not impassible, at the Supper, it appeareth by these words, *That shall be given for you.*

*Seaton.* You may ask as well other questions, How he is in heaven? whether he sit or stand? and whether he be there as he lived here?

*Cran.* You yourself, by putting a natural presence, do force me to question how he is here. Therefore next I do ask this question, Whether good and evil men do eat the body in the sacrament?

*Harps.* Yea, they do so<sup>h</sup>, even as the sun doth shine upon kings' palaces and on dung-heaps.

*Cran.* Then do I inquire, How long Christ tarrieth in the eater?

*Harps.* These are curious questions, unmeet to be asked.

*Cran.* I have taken them out of your Schools and Schoolmen, which you yourselves do most use: and there also do I learn to ask, How far he goeth into the body?

*Harps.* We know that the body of Christ is received to nourish the whole man, both body and soul: "Eo usque progreditur corpus quousque i species."

*Cran.* How long doth he abide in the body?

*Seaton.* St. Augustine saith, our flesh goeth into his flesh. But after he is once received into the stomach, it maketh no matter for us to know how far he doth pierce, or whither he is conveyed.

Here Mr. Tresham and one Mr. London answered, that Christ being given there under such form and quantity as pleased him, it was not to be inquired of his tarrying, or of his descending into the body<sup>k</sup>.

*Harps.* You were wont to lay to our charge, that we added to the Scripture; saying always, that we should fetch the truth out of the Scripture; and now you yourself bring questions out of the Schoolmen, which you have disallowed in us.

<sup>h</sup> That remaineth yet unproved. Harpsfield seemed, a little before, to note the contrary, where he said, that the flesh of Christ, to them that receive him not worthily, is not present. [See Foxe, *Acts*, &c. vol. iii. p. 87.]

<sup>i</sup> Sed species non progreditur usque ad animam: Ergo nec corpus Christi pascit corpus et animam.

<sup>k</sup> These men would needs have a bodily presence, yet would they not, or else could not bring any reason how.

*Cran.* I say, as I have said alway, that I am constrained to ask these questions, because of this carnal presence which you imagine; and yet I know right well that these questions be answered out of the Scriptures. As to my last question, How long he abideth in the body, &c. the Scripture answereth plainly, that Christ doth so long dwell in his people, as they are his members. Whereupon I make this argument:

They which eat the flesh of Christ, do dwell in him, and he in them;

But the wicked do not remain in him, nor he in them:

*Ergo*, The wicked do not eat his flesh, nor drink his blood.

Dr. Cranmer's argument in the second figure and second mood.

*Harps.* I will answer unto you, as St. Augustine saith, not that howsoever a man do eat, he eateth the body; but he that eateth after a certain manner.

Answer insufficient.

*Cran.* I cannot tell what manner ye appoint, but I am sure that evil men do not eat the flesh and drink the blood of Christ, as Christ speaketh in the sixth of John.

*Harps.* In the sixth of John some things are to be referred to the godly, and some to the ungodly.

*Cran.* Whatsoever he doth entreat there of eating, doth pertain unto good men.

*Harps.* If you do mean only of the word of eating, it is true; if concerning the thing, it is not so: and if your meaning be of that which is contained under the word of eating, it may be so taken, I grant.

*Cran.* Now to the argument: *He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him.* Doth not this prove sufficiently that evil men do not eat that the good do?

Evil men do not eat the body of Christ.

*Tresham.* You must add, "Qui manducat digne," "He that eateth worthily."

*Cran.* I speak of the same manner of eating that Christ speaketh of.

*West.* Augustinus *Ad fratres in Eremo*<sup>1</sup>, Sermon. 28. "Est quidam manducandi modus;" that is, "There is a

<sup>1</sup> [This work is considered spurious. See edit. Bened. tom. vi.]

“certain manner of eating.” Augustine speaketh of two manners of eating; the one of them that eat worthily, the other that eat unworthily.

The sixth chapter of John is to be referred partly to the Supper, partly to faith, after the papists.

*Harps.* All things in the sixth of John are not to be referred to the sacrament, but to the receiving of Christ by faith. The Fathers do agree, that there is not entreaty made of the Supper of the Lord, before they come unto: “Panis quem dabo vobis, caro mea est,” &c.

*Cran.* There is entreating of manna both before and after.

*Harps.* I will apply another answer. This argument hath a kind of poison in it, which must be thus bitten away; that manna and this sacrament be not both one. Manna hath not his efficacy of himself, but of God.

Comparison between eating of manna and eating the body of Christ.

*Cran.* <sup>m</sup> But they that did take manna worthily, had fruit thereby: and so, by your assertion, he that doth eat the flesh of Christ worthily, hath his fruit by that.

Therefore the like doth follow of them both, and so there should be no difference between manna and this sacrament, by your reason.

*Harps.* When it is said, that they which *did eat manna*

<sup>m</sup> [In the manuscript in the Public Library, Cambridge, this argument is stated as follows:

“*Cran.* Sacramentum hoc est figura:

“Ergo, Non est verum corpus Christi in eo.

“*Harps.* Negatur Antecedens.

“*Cran.* Probatur: Sacramentum hoc non plus valet quam figura:

“Ergo, Est figura.

“*Harps.* Negatur Antecedens.

“*Cran.* Probatur: Sacramentum hoc non plus valet quam manna in Veteri Testamento valebat;

“Sed manna fuit figura tantum.

“Ergo, Sacramentum hoc non plus valet quam figura.

“*Harps.* Negatur Major.

“*Cran.* Probatur: Qui manna habuerunt, habuerunt vitam æternam;

“Sed qui hoc sacramentum digne sumunt, non plus habent:

“Ergo, Hoc sacramentum non plus valet quam manna in Veteri Testamento valebat.

“*Harps.* Non habuerunt Israelitæ vitam æternam ex manna per se, aut ex ipso cibo, sed de gratia Dei propter fidem recipientium: nos autem ex corpore Christi habemus; quia ut dixit Cyrillus, vivificam salutem ex ipso corpore Christi habemus: ideo fit, ut plus valeat hoc quam manna.

“*Cran.* Nihil interest quoad effectum:

“Ergo, Non plus hoc valet quam alterum.”]



*are dead*, it is to be understood, that they did want the virtue of manna<sup>n</sup>.

*Cran.* They then which do eat either of them worthily, do live.

*Harps.* They do live, which do eat manna worthily, not by manna, but by the power of God given by it. The other, which do eat this sacrament, do live by the same.

*Cran.* Christ did not entreat of the cause, but the effect which followed: he doth not speak of the cause whereof the effect proceedeth.

*Harps.* I do say the effects are divers, life and death, which do follow the worthy and the unworthy eating thereof.

*Cran.* Since you will needs have an addition to it, we must use both in manna and in the sacrament indifferently, either worthily or unworthily.

Christ spake absolutely of manna and of the Supper; so that, after that absolute speaking of the Supper, wicked men can in no wise eat the flesh of Christ, and drink his blood.

Further, Augustine upon John, *Tractat.* 26. upon these August. words, *Qui manducat*, &c. saith, "There is no such respects in common meats as in the Lord's body. For who that eateth other meats hath still hunger, and needeth to be satisfied daily: but he that doth eat the flesh of Christ, and drinketh his blood, doth live for ever." But you know wicked men do not so:

*Ergo*, Wicked men do not receive.

*Harps.* St. Augustine meaneth, that he who eateth Christ's

<sup>n</sup> If Master Harpsfield do mean of bodily life, they which eat the sacrament do die, as well as they which did eat the manna. If he mean of spiritual life, neither be they all damned that did eat manna, nor all saved that do eat the sacrament. Wherefore the truth is, that neither the eating of manna bringeth death, nor the eating of the sacrament bringeth salvation; but only the spiritual believing upon Christ's bodily passion, which only justifieth both them and us. And therefore, as the effect is spiritual, which Christ speaketh of in this chapter, so is the cause of that effect spiritual whereof he meaneth; which is our spiritual believing in him, and not our bodily eating of him.

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flesh, &c. after a certain manner, should live for ever.  
Wicked men do eat, but not after that manner.

Argument  
in the se-  
cond figure  
and second  
mood.

*Cran.* Only they which participate Christ, be of the mystical body ;

But the evil men are not of the mystical body :

*Ergo*, They do not participate Christ.

Dr. Cran-  
mer com-  
mended  
for his mo-  
desty.

*West.* Your wonderful gentle behaviour and modesty, good Mr. Doctor Cranmer, is worthy much commendation : and that I may not deprive you of your right and just deserving, I give you most hearty thanks in mine own name, and in the name of all my brethren. At which saying, all the doctors gently put off their caps°.

° [The remainder of this Disputation, which was wholly between Weston and Harpsfield, may be seen in Foxe, *Acts*, &c. vol. iii. p. 89.]

[*Condemnation of Cranmer at Oxford, April, 1554.*]

After the Disputation of Mr. Latimer ended, which was Foxe, *Acts*,  
the 18th day of April, the Friday following; which was the &c. vol. iii.  
20th day of the said month, the Commissioners sat in Saint The three  
Mary's Church, as they did the Saturday before; and prisoners at  
Doctor Weston used particularly dissuasions with every called be-  
of them, and would not suffer them to answer in any fore the  
wise, but directly and peremptorily, as his words were, to Commis-  
say whether they would subscribe or no. And first to the sioners.  
Bishop of Canterbury he said, he was overcome in disputa- April 20.  
tions. To whom the Bishop answered, that whereas Doctor  
Weston said, he hath answered and opposed, and could  
neither maintain his own errors, nor impugn the verity; all  
that he said was false: for he was not suffered to oppose as  
he would, nor could answer as he was required, unless he  
would have brawled with them, so thick their reasons came  
one after another: ever four or five did interrupt him, that  
he could not speak. Master Ridley and Master Latimer were  
asked what they would do. They replied, that they would  
stand to that they had said. Then were they all called to-  
gether, and sentence read over them, that they were no Dr. Cran-  
members of the Church: and therefore they, their fautors, Master mer, Bishop  
and patrons were condemned as heretics. And in reading Ridley, and  
of it, they were asked, whether they would turn or no. And Master  
they bade them read on in the name of God, for they were Latimer  
not minded to turn. So they were condemned all three. condemn-  
ed.

After which, sentence of condemnation being awarded  
against them, they answered again every one in his turn, in  
manner and effect of words as followeth: the Archbishop  
first beginning thus:

*The Archbishop of Canterbury.*

From this your judgment and sentence I appeal to the

just judgment of God Almighty, trusting to be present with him in heaven, for whose presence in the altar I am thus condemned <sup>a</sup>.

*Doctor Ridley.*

Although I be not of your company, yet doubt I not but my name is written in another place, whither this sentence will send us sooner than we should by the course of nature have come.

*Master Latimer.*

I thank God most heartily that he hath prolonged my life to this end, that I may in this case glorify God by that kind of death.

*Doctor Weston's answer unto Latimer.*

Weston  
giveth sen-  
tence  
against  
himself.

If you go to heaven in this faith, then I will never come thither, as I am thus persuaded.

The Arch-  
bishop and  
his fellow-  
prisoners  
separated.

After the sentence pronounced, they were separated one from another; *videlicet*, the Archbishop was returned to Bocardo, Dr. Ridley was carried to the Sheriff's house, Mr. Latimer to the Bailiff's.

<sup>a</sup> [See the Letter which Cranmer wrote to the Council after his condemnation, vol. i. Letter ccxcvii.]

[<sup>a</sup>*Examination at Oxford before Brokes, September, 1555.*]

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We mind now to proceed to Cranmer's final judgment Foxe, *Acts*, &c. vol. iii. p. 649. and order of condemnation, which was the 12th day of September, anno 1555, and seven days before the condemnation of Bishop Ridley and Master Latimer. The story whereof here followeth, faithfully corrected by the report and narration (coming by chance to our hands) of one who, being both present thereat, and also a devout favourer of the see and faction of Rome, can lack no credit, I trow, with such which seek what they can to discredit whatsoever maketh not with their phantasied religion of Rome.

After the Disputations done and finished in Oxford between the doctors of both Universities and the three worthy bishops, Doctor Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, sentence condemnatory immediately upon the same was ministered against them by Doctor Weston and other of the University; whereby they were judged to be heretics, and so committed to the Mayor and Sheriffs of Oxford. But forasmuch as the sentence given against them was void in law, (for at that time the authority of the Pope was not yet received into the land,) therefore was a new commission sent from Rome, and a new process framed for the conviction of these reverend and godly learned men aforesaid. In which commission, first was Doctor James Brooks, Bishop

<sup>a</sup> [Foxe gives two accounts of this Examination, and a third is contained in the official report sent by Brokes to his principal, the Cardinal de Puteo, which was first printed by Mr. Todd in the Addenda to the Oxford edition of Strype, 1812. Both of Foxe's narratives, excepting a few omissions, are here reprinted in the text: and the chief parts of the official report will be found in the notes. But the best authority for the arguments used by Cranmer on this occasion, is the long letter which he addressed shortly afterwards to Queen Mary. See vol. i. Letter ccxcix.]

Dr. Brooks, of Gloucester, the Pope's Subdelegate <sup>b</sup>, with Doctor Martin Dr. Martin, Dr. Story, and Doctor Story, Commissioners in the King and Queen's behalf, for the execution of the same. . . .

Commissioners against the Archbishop.

At the coming down of the foresaid Commissioners, (which was upon Thursday, the 12th of September, anno 1555,) in the Church of St. Mary, and in the east end of the said Church, at the high altar, was erected a solemn scaffold for Bishop Brooks aforesaid, representing the Pope's person, ten foot high. The seat was made that he might sit under the sacrament of the altar. And on the right hand of the Pope's Delegate, beneath him, sat Doctor Martin; and on the left hand sat Doctor Story, the King and Queen's Commissioners, which were both Doctors of the Civil Law; and underneath them other doctors, scribes, and pharisees also, with the Pope's Collector, and a rabblement of such other like.

The order of setting and placing the Commissioners.

The appearing of the Archbishop of Canterbury before the Commissioners.

And thus these bishops being placed in their *pontificalibus*, the Bishop of Canterbury was sent for to come before them. He having intelligence of them that were there, thus ordered himself. He came forth of the prison to the Church of Saint Mary, set forth with bills and glaives, for fear he should start away; being clothed in a fair black gown, with his hood on both shoulders, such as Doctors of Divinity in the University use to wear. Who, after he was come into the Church, and did see them sit in their *pontificalibus*, he did not put off his cap to any of them, but stood still till that he was called. And anon one of the Proctors for the Pope, or else his Doctor, called, 'Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, appear here, and make answer to that shall be laid to thy charge; that is to say, for blasphemy, incontineney, and heresy; and make answer here to the Bishop of Gloucester, representing the Pope's person.'

Upon this, he being brought more near unto the scaffold, where the foresaid Bishop sat, he first well viewed the place

<sup>b</sup> [The Delegate, or, as he is styled in the official document, "Judex ac Commissarius a sanctissimo domino nostro Papa specialiter deputatus," was the Cardinal de Puteo. *Processus contra Cramm.* p. 1069.]

of judgment, and spying where the King and Queen's Majesties' Proctors were, putting off his cap, he first, humbly bowing his knee to the ground, made reverence to the one, and after to the other.

That done, beholding the Bishop in the face, he put on his bonnet again, making no manner of token of obedience towards him at all. Whereat the Bishop, being offended, said unto him, that it might beseeem him right well, weighing the authority he did represent, to do his duty unto him. Whereunto Doctor Cranmer answered and said, that he had once taken a solemn oath never to consent to the admitting of the Bishop of Rome's authority into this realm of England again; and that he had done it advisedly, and meant by God's grace to keep it; and therefore would commit nothing, either by sign or token, which might argue his consent to the receiving of the same; and so he desired the said Bishop to judge of him, and that he did it not for any contempt to his person, which he could have been content to have honoured as well as any of the other, if his commission had come from as good an authority as theirs. This answered he both modestly, wisely, and patiently, with his cap on his head, not once bowing or making any reverence to him that represented the Pope's person; which was wondrously of the people marked that was there present, and saw it, and marked it as nigh as could be possible.

The Archbishop giveth reverence to the Queen's Commissioners. Dr. Cranmer sheweth no reverence to the Pope's Delegate.

[Here follow in Foxe two Speeches, one by Brokes, the other by Martyn. Brokes, after stating to the Archbishop that they came neither to judge, nor to dispute, but to examine him in certain matters, and to make relation thereof unto him that had power to judge, exhorted him at great length to repent of his errors, and return to the bosom of the catholic Church. Martyn informed him, that the Pope, on the petition of the King and Queen, had ordered process to be made against him; that Brokes sat as high Commissioner from his Holiness, and that he (Martyn) and Story appeared as attorneys for their Majesties.]

<sup>b</sup> Wherefore [he proceeded, addressing Brokes] here I offer to your good lordship our proxy<sup>c</sup>, sealed with the broad seal of England, and offer myself to be Proctor in the King's Majesty's behalf. I exhibit here also certain articles, containing the manifest adultery and perjury: also books of heresy, made partly by him, partly set forth by his authority. And here I produce him, as party principal, to answer to your good lordship.

Thus when Doctor Martin had ended his oration, the Archbishop beginneth, as here followeth.

*Cran.* Shall I then make my answer?

*Mart.* As you think good; no man shall let you.

And here the Archbishop, kneeling down on both knees

<sup>b</sup> [Subjoined is the official report of this Examination, extracted, with the exception of a few omissions, from the *Processus contra Cranmerum*, added by Mr. Todd to the Oxford reprint of Strype's Cranmer from a manuscript at Lambeth.]

“Adveniente vero dicto die Jovis, xij<sup>o</sup>. viz. die prædicti mensis Septembris annoque Domini indictione et pontificatu prædictis, Coram nobis præfato Jacobo Glocestren' Episcopo ac Judice subdelegato sive Commissario supranominato, in ecclesia parochiali divæ Virginis Mariæ superius specificat' loco in hac parte assignat' et deputat' judicialiter et pro tribunali seden', in prænominati magistri Johannis Clerk Notarii publici et Scribæ nostri prædicti præsentia, præfatus venerabilis vir magister Thomas Martyn exsuperhabundanti exhibuit procuratorium suum prædictum pro illustrissimis Rege et Regina prædictis et se partem fecit pro eisdem, ac eorum nomine procuratorio mandatum nostrum citatorium contra dictum dominum Thomam Cranmerum . . . realiter exhibuit; et contra præfatum dominum Thomam Cranmerum tunc in judicio personaliter præsentem, ex parte dictorum serenissimorum dominorum Philippi et Mariæ Regis et Reginae prædict', ac procuratorio nomine pro eisdem de-nuo dedit articulos . . . atque in partem et subsidium probationis articulorum hujusmodi et contentorum in eisdem, exhibuit libros mentionatos in dictis articulis, vestræ reverendissimæ paternitati originaliter una cum præsentibus transmissos, (qui quidem libri atque articuli ac Subdelegatio et Mandatum nostrum citatorium prædict' in eorum formis originalibus tempore executionis nostri hujusmodi Mandati citatorii eidem Thomæ publice ostensi, ac ipsi seu saltem veræ copię collationatæ eorundem ac signo et nomine præfati domini Johannis Clerk Notarii publici nostrique actorum Scribæ antedicti signat', eidem domino Thomæ Cranmero de facto realiter traditæ fuerunt et penes eum dimissæ, prout ex tenore certificatorii dicti

<sup>c</sup> [See this document in Strype, *Cranm. Addenda*, Oxf. 1812. p. 1072.]



towards the west, said first the Lord's Prayer. Then rising up, he reciteth the articles of the Creed. Which done, he entereth with his protestation, in form as followeth.

<sup>d</sup> *The faith and profession of Doctor Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, before the Commissioners.*

This I do profess as touching my faith, and make my protestation, which I desire you to note. I will never consent that the Bishop of Rome shall have any jurisdiction within this realm.

The profession or protestation of Dr. Cranmer before the Commissioners.

*Story.* Take a note thereof.

*Mart.* Mark, Master Cranmer, how you answer for yourself. You refuse and deny him by whose laws ye yet do remain in life, being otherwise attainted of high treason<sup>e</sup>, and but a dead man by the laws of this realm.

*Cran.* I protest before God I was no traitor, but indeed I confessed more at my arraignment than was true.

*Mart.* That is not to be reasoned at this present. Ye know ye were condemned for a traitor, and *res judicata pro veritate accipitur*. But proceed to your matter.

*Cran.* I will never consent to the Bishop of Rome, for then should I give myself to the Devil; for I have made an oath to the King, and I must obey the King by God's laws. By the Scripture the King is chief, and no foreign person in his own realm above him. There is no subject but to a king. I am a subject, I owe my fidelity to the

" nostri Mandati citatorii plenius ac manifeste liquet et apparet,) in  
 " præsencia ejusdem domini Thomæ Cranmer personaliter ut præfertur  
 " præsentis et comparentis, ac primo et ante omnia protestantis, quod  
 " per suam comparitionem, aut per aliqua per eum dicta seu dicenda  
 " gesta vel gerenda seu aliquo modo per eum facta seu fienda, non in-  
 " tendit consentire in nos Subdelegatum sive Commissarium antedictum,  
 " aut in aliquem alium auctoritate domini Papæ seu Romani pontificis  
 " fulcientem, tanquam in judicem sibi in hac parte (ut asseruit) compe-

<sup>d</sup> [See Cranmer's Letter to Queen Mary, (vol. i. Lett. ccxcix.) his Letter to a Lawyer, (vol. i. Lett. ccc.) and his Appeal to a General Council, below.]

<sup>e</sup> [See Cranmer's Letters to Queen Mary; (vol. i. Lett. ccxcv. ccxcix.) Foxe, *Acts*, &c. vol. iii. p. 648; Burnet, *Reformat.* vol. ii. p. 315; Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 320.]

Crown. The Pope is contrary to the Crown. I cannot obey both; for no man can serve two masters at once, as you in the beginning of your oration declared by the sword and the keys, attributing the keys to the Pope, and the sword to the King. But I say the King hath both. Therefore he that is subject to Rome, and the laws of Rome, he is perjured; for the Pope's and the judge's laws are contrary, they are uncertain and confounded.

Causes alleged why Dr. Cranmer cannot receive the Pope.

The laws of this realm and the Pope's contrary.

A priest indebted, by the laws of the realm shall be sued before a temporal judge; by the Pope's laws, contrary.

The Pope doth the King injury, in that he hath his power from the Pope. The King is head in his own realm; but the Pope claimeth all bishops, priests, curates, &c. So the Pope in every realm hath a realm.

Again, by the laws of Rome the benefice must be given by the bishop; by the laws of the realm the patron giveth the benefice. Herein the laws be as contrary as fire and water.

No man can by the laws of Rome proceed in a *præmunire*, and so is the law of the realm expelled, and the King standeth accursed in maintaining his own laws. Therefore, in consideration that the King and Queen take their power of him, as though God should give it to them, there is no true subject, unless he be abrogate, seeing the crown is holden of him, being out of the realm.

The Pope's proceedings contrary to God.

The Bishop of Rome is contrary to God, and injurious to his laws; for God commanded all men to be diligent in the knowledge of his law; and therefore hath appointed

"tentem, seu aliquo pacto admittere aliquam auctoritatem dicti Romani pontificis, asserendo et constanter affirmando eundem Romanum pontificem nullum in hoc regno habere seu habere debuisse aut debere auctoritatem seu potestatem, quodque ex eo etiam ipsius Romani pontificis auctoritatem ut præfertur admittere non intendit, pro eo quod alias præstitit juramentum contrarium (ut asseruit) Henrico tunc Angliæ illius nominis Regi octavo, viz. de renunciando Romano pontifici, et de admittendo et acceptando eundem Regem Henricum Octavum pro supremo capite Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ; et protestabatur ulterius se paratum esse ad respondendum coram quocumque iudice potestatem auctoritatem seu commissionem dictorum illustrissimorum Regis et Reginæ habente.

"Idemque dominus Thomas Cranmerus tunc incontinenti ibidem mul-

one holy day in the week at the least, for the people to come to the church, and hear the word of God expounded unto them; and that they might the better understand it, to hear it in their mother tongue, which they know. The Pope doth contrary; for he willeth the service to be had in the Latin tongue, which they do not understand. God would have it to be perceived; the Pope will not. When the priest giveth thanks, God would that the people should do so too; and God will them to confess altogether; the Pope will not.

Now as concerning the sacrament, I have taught no false doctrine of the sacrament of the altar: for if it can be proved by any doctor above a thousand years after Christ, that Christ's body is there really, I will give over. My book was made seven years ago, and no man hath brought any authors against it. I believe, that whoso eateth and drinketh that sacrament, Christ is within them, whole Christ, his nativity, passion, resurrection, and ascension; but not that corporally that sitteth in heaven.

Now Christ commanded all to drink of the cup: the Pope taketh it away from the laymen; and yet one saith, that if Christ had died for the Devil, that he should drink thereof. Christ biddeth us to obey the King, *etiam discolo*: the Bishop of Rome biddeth us to obey him; therefore, unless he be Antichrist, I cannot tell what to make of him. Wherefore if I should obey him, I cannot obey Christ.

He is like the Devil in his doings; for the Devil said to Christ, If thou wilt fall down and worship me, I will give thee all the kingdoms of the world. Thus he took upon him to give that which was not his own. Even so the Bi-

"tis variisque modis ac verbis suis nefariis famosis et protervis publice in iudicio dixit, opposuit, et objecit contra auctoritatem potestatis temque dicti domini nostri Papæ et Romani pontificis; et inter cetera audacter et sine pudore aut verecundia asserendo, ipsum Romanum pontificem per leges et canones suos non solum pervertisse et pervertere leges hujus regni Angliæ, sed etiam sacras Scripturas et leges divinas, etiam asserendo et constanter affirmando inter cetera Christum in Eucharistia spiritualiter tantum et non corporaliter esse, sed in corpore in celo tantum esse et non alibi. Asseruitque quod casu quo Papam sive Romanum pontificem modernum imitari contigerit vestigia prædecessorum suorum Romanorum pontificum, aut si ejus aucto-

shop of Rome giveth princes their crowns, being none of his own: for where princes either by election, either by succession, either by inheritance obtain their crown, he saith, that they should have it from him.

The Pope  
proved Antichrist.

Christ saith, that Antichrist shall be. And who shall he be? Forsooth, he that advanceth himself above all other creatures. Now if there be none already that hath advanced himself after such sort besides the Pope, then in the mean time let him be Antichrist.

*Story.* Pleaseth it you to make an end?

*Cran.* For he will be the vicar of Christ, he will dispense with the Old and New Testament also; yea, and with apostasy.

Now I have declared why I cannot with my conscience obey the Pope. I speak not this for hatred I bear to him that now supplieth the room, for I know him not. I pray God give him grace not to follow his ancestors. Neither say I this for my defence, but to declare my conscience for the zeal that I bear to God's word, trodden under foot by the Bishop of Rome. I cast fear apart; for Christ said to his Apostles, that in the latter days they should suffer much

Matt. xvi.

sorrow, and be put to death for his name's sake: *Fear them not, saith he, but fear him, which, when he hath killed the body, hath power to cast the soul into fire everlasting.* Also

Mark viii.

Christ saith, that *he that will live shall die: and he that loseth his life for my name's sake, he shall find it again.* Moreover he said, Confess me before men, and be not afraid; for if you do so, I will stand with you: if you shrink from me, I will shrink from you. This is a comfortable and a terrible saying; this maketh me to set all fear apart. I say therefore the Bishop of Rome treadeth under foot God's laws and the King's.

The Pope would give bishoprics; so would the King.

“ ritate potestate et legibus in regnis et dominiis aliorum principum uti  
“ contigerit, quod per hoc perverteret et destrueret tam leges divinas  
“ quam etiam leges regum, et in hoc utitur (ut asseruit) vice Antichristi,  
“ et pro Antichristo et Christi adversario censeri deberet. Ac etiam  
“ addendo asseruit et publice affirmavit, quod quisquis receperit seu  
“ admiserit auctoritatem domini Papæ seu Romani pontificis in hoc  
“ Angliæ regno, adversaretur et Deo et coronæ Angliæ, atque eo facto

But at the last the King got the upper hand, and so are all bishops perjured, first to the Pope, and then to the King.

The Crown hath nothing to do with the clergy. For if a clerk come before a judge, the judge shall make process against him, but not to execute any laws. For if the judge should put him to execution, then is the King accursed in maintaining his own laws. And therefore say I, that he is neither true to God, neither to the King, that first received the Pope. But I shall heartily pray for such counsellors as may inform her the truth; for the King and Queen, if they be well informed, will do well.

The Pope's laws against the laws of this realm.

*Mart.* As you understand then, if they maintain the supremacy of Rome, they cannot maintain England too.

*Cran.* I require you to declare to the King and Queen what I have said, and how their oaths do stand with the realm and the Pope. St. Gregory saith, "He that taketh upon him to be head of the universal Church, is worse than the Antichrist." If any man can show me that it is not against God's word to hold his stirrup, when he taketh his horse, and kiss his feet, (as kings do,) then will I kiss his feet also.

To be called universal head is a mark of Antichrist. Gregory.

And you, for your part, my lord, are perjured; for now ye sit judge for the Pope, and yet did you receive your bishopric of the King<sup>h</sup>. You have taken an oath to be adversary to the realm; for the Pope's laws are contrary to the laws of the realm.

The Bishop of Gloucester charged with perjury.

*Gloucester.* You were the cause that I did forsake the

"excommunicatus est. Ulteriusque asseruit et publice dixit præfatus Thomas Cranmerus, nos Subdelegatum ac Commissarium prædictum nullo modo fuisse aut esse judicem sibi in hac parte competentem, sed incompetentem et perjurum, eo quod admisimus auctoritatem

<sup>g</sup> [See this declaration of Gregory stated more at length in Cranmer's Letter to Queen Mary, (vol. i. Lett. ccxcix.)]

<sup>h</sup> [Ant. Wood's account of Brokes is, that he was Fellow of C. C. C. and B. A. 1531; D.D. 1546; Master of Balliol, 1547; Bp. of Gloucester, on the deprivation of Hoper, April 1, 1554. This is inconsistent with the statement here attributed to Cranmer, both on the point of his doctor's degree, and his appointment to a bishopric; but it is *not* inconsistent either with "the more full answer of the Archbishop," printed below, or with his Letter to the Queen, (vol. i. Lett. ccxcix.) or with Brokes's official report. It must therefore be concluded, that this narrative is, as Foxe suspected, not to be trusted. See Wood, *Athenæ*, vol. i. p. 314. ed. Bliss.]

Pope, and did swear that he ought not to be supreme head, and gave it to King Henry the Eighth that he ought to be it; and this you made me to do.

*Cran.* To this I answer, you report me ill, and say not the truth, and I will prove it here before you all.<sup>i</sup> The truth is, that my predecessor, Bishop Warrham, gave the supremacy to King Henry the Eighth, and said that he ought to have it before the Bishop of Rome, and that God's word would bear him. And upon the same was there sent to both the Universities, Oxford and Cambridge, to know what the word of God would do touching the supremacy; and it was reasoned upon and argued at length. So at the last both the Universities agreed, and set to their seals, and sent it to King Henry the Eighth to the Court, that he

Warrham,  
Archbi-  
shop, gave  
up first the  
supremacy  
to the King.

Both the  
Universi-  
ties sub-

“Romani pontificis, et eo quod juramentum alias præstitimus contra-  
rium, viz. de renunciando auctoritati ejusdem Romani pontificis, ac

<sup>i</sup> [Abp. Parker gives the following account of the first admission of the King's supremacy by the clergy: “Clerus Anglicanus, qui Cardinali [Wolseio] ut Romani Pontificis legato obtemperabant, ob admissam receptamque Papæ potestatem actione de *præmunire* teneri putabatur: “cujus vi proscribi et cum bonis atque membris adjudicari Regi debuit, nisi Rex misertus esset. Itaque . . . consilium iniit clerus de tam dira poena redimenda. . . . At Rex, qui solus regnare, nec divisum et dispersitum de clero et populo suo gubernando cum Papa officium amplius gerere voluit, non alia conditione hac oblata pecunia redimere clerum voluit; quam si se solum suum totiasque populi, proxime ac secundum Christum protectorem *Supremumque Caput* in ea synodo agnoscerent. Hujus consilii Cranmerus et Cromwellus clam auctores fuisse existimabantur. Clerus animo toto jam obstupuit; nondum enim quid sibi hic novus vellet titulus, aut quorsum tenderet, prospexit. Sed nasuti quidem olfecerunt rei exitum; inter quos fuisse Warhamum Archiepiscopum, ex his quæ mox dicemus, verisimile est. Magnæ res; deliberatum diu; procrastinationes et prorogationes crebræ; disputatum sæpius. Tandem Archiepiscopus, cum exquisivisset Præsulum de ea re sententias, ac plerique siluissent: ‘Qui tacet,’ inquit, ‘consentire videtur:’ responsumque illico fuit: ‘Ergo tacemus omnes.’ Verum postea, cum neque tutum, neque e gravitate synodi fore cernerent sic illudere regi, frequentes ierunt in sententiam his verbis conceptam: ‘Ecclesiæ et cleri Anglicani singularem protectorem, supremum dominum, et quantum per Christi leges licet, etiam “supremum caput, regiam majestatem agnoscimus.”’ (See Parker, *Ant. Eccles. Brit.* Warham; Wilkins, *Conc.* tom. iii. p. 725; Burn. *Ref.* vol. i. p. 227.) This resolution was voted on the 11th of Feb. 1531. But the title of Supreme Head was not given to the King by Act of Parliament till 1534; (Stat. 26 Hen. VIII. cap. i.) Nor does it appear to have been acknowledged by the Universities before that year. (Wilkins, *ibid.* pp. 771. 775; Burnet, vol. iii. App. b. ii. No. 27; *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 425.) Yet Cranmer's words, as here reported, imply, that it had been formally approved by them during the primacy of Warham. This is another reason, in addition to those given in a preceding note, for suspecting the accuracy of this account of the Examination.]

ought to be supreme head, and not the Pope. Whereupon you were then Doctor of Divinity at that time, and your consent was thereunto, as by your hand doth appear. Therefore you misreport me, that I was the cause of your falling away from the Pope, but it was yourself. All this was in Bishop Warrham's time, and whilst he was alive; so that it was three quarters of a year after, ere ever I had the bishopric of Canterbury in my hands, and before I might do any thing. So that here ye have reported of me that which ye cannot prove, which is evil done. All this while his cap was on his head.

*Gloucest.* We come to examine you, and you, methink, examine us.

[Here follows in Foxe a Speech by Story, in defence of the Pope's supremacy, and of the competency of his Delegate to examine Cranmer.]

As soon as Doctor Story had thus ended his tale, beginneth Doctor Martin again to enter speech with the Archbishop; which talk I thought here likewise not to let pass, although the report of the same be such, as the author thereof seemeth in his writing very partial; for as he expresseth the speech of Doctor Martin at full, and to the uttermost of his diligence, leaving out nothing in that part that either was or could be said more; so again, on the other part, how raw and weak he leaveth the matter it is easy to perceive, who neither comprehendeth all that Doctor Cranmer again answered for his defence, nor yet, in those short speeches which he expresseth, seemeth to discharge the part of a sincere and faithful reporter. Notwithstanding, such as it is, I thought good to let the reader understand, who in perusing the same may use therein his own judgment and consideration.

*Talk between Doctor Martin and the Archbishop.*

Master Cranmer, ye have told here a long glorious tale,

“ de acceptando et admittendo prænominatum Regem Henricum Octavum pro supremo capite Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ. Et quia dictus domi-

scribed to  
the King's  
supremacy  
before  
Cranmer  
was Arch-  
bishop.

Partiality  
in the re-  
porter.

Talk between Dr. Martin and the Archbishop.

pretending some matter of conscience in appearance, but in verity you have no conscience at all. You say that you have sworn once to King Henry the Eighth against the Pope's jurisdiction, and therefore you may never forswear the same; and so ye make a great matter of conscience in the breach of the said oath. Here will I ask you a question or two. What if ye made an oath to an harlot, to live with her in continual adultery, ought you to keep it?

*Cran.* I think no.

Unadvised oaths are not to be kept.

*Mart.* What if you did swear never to lend a poor man one penny, ought you to keep it?

*Cran.* I think not.

*Mart.* Herod did swear whatsoever his harlot asked of him he would give her, and he gave her John Baptist's head. Did he well in keeping his oath?

*Cran.* I think not.

Jephthe's oath.

*Mart.* Jephthe, one of the judges of Israel, did swear unto God, that if he would give him victory over his enemies, he would offer unto God the first soul that came forth of his house. It happened that his own daughter came first, and he slew her to save his oath. Did he well?

*Cran.* I think not.

*Mart.* So saith Saint Ambrose, *De Officiis*, "Miserabilis necessitas, quæ solvitur parricidio;" id est, "It is a miserable necessity which is paid with parricide." Then, Master Cranmer, you can no less confess by the premises, but that you ought not to have conscience of every oath, but if it be just, lawful, and advisedly taken.

*Cran.* So was that oath.

*Mart.* That is not so. For first it was unjust; for it tended to the taking away of another man's right. It was not lawful; for the laws of God and the Church were against it. Besides, it was not voluntary; for every man and woman were compelled to take it.

*Cran.* It pleaseth you to say so.

*Mart.* Let all the world be judge. But, sir, you that

"nus Cranmerus negavit Romanum pontificem esse supremum caput  
"Ecclesiæ Christi, ideo interrogatus per præfatum procuratorem domi-



pretend to have such a conscience to break an oath ; I pray you, did you never swear, and break the same ?

*Cran.* I remember not.

*Mart.* I will help your memory. Did you never swear obedience to the see of Rome ?

*Cran.* Indeed I did once swear unto the same.

*Mart.* Yea, that you did twice<sup>k</sup>, as appeareth by records and writings here ready to be showed.

*Cran.* But I remember I saved all by protestation that I made by the counsel of the best learned men I could get at that time<sup>l</sup>.

*Mart.* Hearken, good people, what this man saith. He made a protestation one day to keep never a whit of that which he would swear the next day. Was this the part of a Christian man ? If a Christian man would bargain with a Turk, and before he maketh his bargain solemnly before witness, readeth in his paper that he holdeth secretly in his hand, or peradventure protesteth before one or two<sup>m</sup>, that he mindeth not to perform whatsoever he shall promise to the Turk ; I say, if a Christian man should serve a Turk in this manner, that the Christian man were worse then the Turk. What would you then say to this man, that made a solemn oath and promise unto God and his Church, and made a protestation before quite contrary ?

*Cran.* That which I did, I did by the best learned men's advice I could get at that time.

*Mart.* I protest before all the learned men here, that

“ norum Regis et Reginae, ‘ Quisnam tunc ’ (ejus judicio et opinione) “ caput esset Ecclesiae hujusmodi, ’ respondebat, ‘ Regem quemcumque

<sup>k</sup> [So also the English copy of the articles of accusation ; but the official Latin copy, and the records attached to it, refer only to the oath or oaths taken at his consecration ; and perhaps the two oaths then sworn were all that Martyn meant. See *Processus contr. Cranm.* p. 1106, &c.]

<sup>l</sup> [See Strype, *Cranm.* p. 20 ; Hallam, *Constit. Hist.* 80. vol. i. p. 135, note ; Todd, *Life of Cranm.* vol. i. p. 58.]

<sup>m</sup> [Cranmer made this protestation three times : 1st, in the Chapter-house of St. Stephen's, in the presence of Watkins the Protonotary and three others ; 2dly, at the altar, previously to consecration, just before he took the first oath ; 3dly, at the same place, on the delivery of the pallium, before he took the second oath. See Append. N<sup>o</sup>. I ; *Process. contr. Cranm.* p. 1107, &c. ; Todd, *Life of Cranm.* vol. i. p. 60.]

The Archbishop, being sworn to the King, ought not to swear to the Pope.

The Archbishop sworn first to the Pope by protestation.

Dr. Martin would prove the Archbishop perjured in forswearing his oath made to the Pope.

there is no learning will save your perjury herein; for there be two rules of the civil law clean contrary against you: and so brought forth his rules; which being done, he proceeded further. But will you have the truth of the matter? King Henry the Eighth even then meant the lamentable change which after you see came to pass: and to further his pitiful proceedings, from the divorcement of his most lawful wife to the detestable departing from the blessed unity of Christ's Church, this man made the foresaid protestation; and, on the other side, he letted not to make two solemn oaths quite contrary; and why? for otherwise, by the laws and canons of this realm, he could not aspire to the Archbishopric of Canterbury.

Dr. Cranmer unwilling to be made Archbishop.

*Cran.* I protest before you all, there was never man came more unwillingly to a bishopric then I did to that: insomuch that when King Henry did send for me in post, that I should come over, I prolonged my journey by seven weeks at the least, thinking that he would be forgetful of me in the mean time<sup>n</sup>.

False slander of Dr. Martin.

*Mart.* You declare well by the way that the King took you to be a man of good conscience, who could not find within all his realm any man that would set forth his strange attempts, but was enforced to send for you in post to come out of Germany. What may we conjecture hereby, but that there was a compact between you, being then Queen Anne's Chaplain, and the King: 'Give me the Archbishop-

"in regno suo;" et cum dictus Procurator replicavit dicens, 'Ergo "Nero qui interfecit Petrum, caput fuit Ecclesiæ Christi," ipse dominus

<sup>n</sup> [This assertion has been questioned, but without sufficient reason. (See Lingard, vol. vi. p. 254; Todd, *Life of Cranm.* vol. i. p. 50.) Warham died on the 23d of Aug. 1532. The precise date of Cranmer's return from the continent is not known. Strype indeed states, that Cranmer was in England and present at the marriage of Anne Boleyn, on the 14th of November. He may possibly have been then in England, but neither was Anne Boleyn married on that day, nor was Cranmer present on the occasion. See his Letter to Hawkyus, (vol. i. Lett. xiv.) It is certain that on the 20th of October, he was still in Germany, at Villach; and the Letter which he wrote from that place contains no allusion to his coming home. (Vol. i. Lett. iii.) Nor were the bulls for his promotion applied for at Rome till the end of January 1533.]

‘ric of Canterbury, and I will give you license to live in  
‘adultery?’

*Cran.* You say not true.

*Mart.* Let your protestation, joined with the rest of your talk, give judgment. *Hinc prima mali labe.* Of that your execrable perjury, and his coloured and too shamefully suffered adultery, came heresy and all mischief to this realm.

And thus have I spoken as touching the conscience you make for breaking your heretical oath made to the King. But to break your former oath, made at two sundry times both to God and his Church, you have no conscience at all. And now to answer another part of your oration, wherein you bring in God’s word, that you have it on your side, and no man else; and that the Pope hath devised a new Scripture, contrary to the Scriptures of God; ye play herein as the Pharisees did, which cried always, *Verbum Domini, verbum Domini; The word of the Lord, the word of the Lord*; when they meant nothing so. This bettereth not your cause, because you have God’s word for you; for Basilides and Photinus the heretics said that they had God’s word to maintain their heresy. So Nestorius, so Macedonius, so Pelagius, and, briefly, all the heretics that ever were, pretended that they had God’s word for them; yea, and so the Devil, being the father of heresies, alleged God’s word for him, saying, *Scriptum est; It is written.* So said he to Christ, *Mitte te deorsum; Cast thyself downward*; which you applied most falsely against the Pope. But if you mark the Devil’s language well, it agreed with your proceedings most truly: for, *Mitte te deorsum, Cast thyself downward*, said he; and so taught you to cast all things downward. Down with the sacrament, down with the mass, down with the altars, down with the arms of Christ<sup>p</sup>, and up

“Cranmerus affirmavit eundem Neronem sic fuisse caput Ecclesiæ Christi, et etiam Turcam suæ Ecclesiæ caput esse.

“Deinde prænominatus venerabilis vir magister Thomas Martyn pro-

o Nay, the Pharisees cried not *Verbum Domini*, but *Templum Domini*, as the Papists do now against the Protestants.

p So did King Ezechias and Josias down with monuments of idolatry, and are commended.

Another  
false slan-  
der of Dr.  
Martin.

with a lion and a dog; down with the abbeys, down with chauntries, down with hospitals and colleges, down with fasting and prayer; yea, down with all that good and godly is. All your proceedings and preachings tended to no other, but to fulfil the Devil's request, *Mitte te deorsum*. And therefore tell not us that you have God's word. For God hath given us by his word a mark to know that your teaching proceedeth not of God, but of the Devil, and that your doctrine came not of Christ, but of Antichrist: for Christ foresaid there should come against his Church *lupi rapaces*, id est, *ravening wolves*; and *pseudoapostoli*, id est, *false apostles*<sup>q</sup>. But how should we know them? Christ teacheth us, saying, *Ex fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos*; id est, *By their fruits ye shall know them*. Why, what be their fruits? St. Paul declareth; *Post carnem in concupiscentia, et immunditia ambulant; potestatem contemnunt, &c.*: i. e. *After the flesh they walk in concupiscence and uncleanness; they contemn potestates*. Again, *In diebus novissimis erunt periculosa tempora: erunt seipsos amantes, cupidi, elati, immorigeri parentibus, proditores, &c.*: i. e. *In the latter days there shall be perilous times: then shall there be men loving themselves, covetous, proud, disobedient to parents, treason-workers*. Whether these be not the fruits of your gospel, I refer me to this worshipful audience; whether the said gospel began not with perjury, proceeded with adultery, was maintained with heresy, and ended in conspiracy.

Now, sir, two points more I marked in your raging discourse that you made here: the one against the holy sacrament; the other against the Pope's jurisdiction and the authority of the see apostolic.

The doctrine of the sacrament.

Touching the first, ye say you have God's word with you, yea, and all the doctors. I would here ask but one question of you, Whether God's word be contrary to itself, and

"curator antedictus in subsidium probationis contentorum in dictis  
"articulis, exhibuit quoddam instrumentum publicum manu propria

<sup>q</sup> Whether these be the fruits of the Gospellers or of the Papists more, let the conversation of them both give judgment.

whether the doctors teach doctrine contrary to themselves, or no? for you, Master Cranmer, have taught in this high sacrament of the altar three contrary doctrines, and yet you pretended in every one, *verbum Domini*.

*Cran.* Nay, I taught but two contrary doctrines in the same<sup>r</sup>.

*Mart.* What doctrine taught you when you condemned Lambert the sacramentary, in the King's presence in White-hall<sup>s</sup>?

"magistri Richardi Watkins Notarii publici ut apparuit subscriptum, et ejus signo ut apparuit signatum, continens in se inter cetera teno-

<sup>r</sup> [Dr. Wordsworth seems to think this declaration decisive against the common belief, that Cranmer at one time held the Lutheran tenets on the Eucharist. Yet such an opinion seems to have been entertained, not only by Foxe, to whom Dr. W. traces it, but by the Abp.'s contemporaries in general. (See Preface.) It is therefore scarcely to be surrendered on the authority of a conversation, which, there is reason to suppose, has not been reported accurately. As far indeed as it rested on the translation of Justus Jonas' Catechism, it must be admitted to be without foundation; for Cranmer repeatedly declared, that the doctrine there taught, though it had been misunderstood, was none other than that which was maintained in the *Defence*. But the following extract from his *Answer to Smythe's Preface* leaves a strong impression, that in his passage from transubstantiation to the tenets of the Church of England, he had paused at the Real Presence according to the Lutheran sense. Smythe, he says, "understood not my book of the Catechism, and therefore reporteth untruly of me, that I in that book did set forth the real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament. Unto which false report I have answered in my fourth book, the eighth chapter. But this I confess of myself, that not long before I wrote the said Catechism, I was in that error of the real presence, as I was many years past in divers other errors, as of transubstantiation, of the sacrifice propitiatory of the priests in the mass, of pilgrimages, purgatory, pardons, and many other superstitions and errors that came from Rome. . . . But after it had pleased God to show unto me by his holy word a more perfect knowledge of his Son Jesus Christ, from time to time, as I grew in knowledge of him, by little and little I put away my former ignorance." See Wordsworth, *Eccles. Biogr.* vol. iii. p. 550; Cranmer's *Defence*, &c. (vol. ii. p. 440;) and *Answer to Gardiner*, (vol. iii. pp. 13. 297. 344;) Preface to *Cranmer's Catechism*, Oxford, 1829, p. xviii. See also Boner's attack on Cranmer for inconsistency, in Foxe, *Acts*, &c. vol. ii. pp. 675. 681.]

<sup>s</sup> [John Nicholson, alias Lambert, was burnt for denying the Corporal Presence in 1538. He was not condemned by Cranmer, but by the King in person, Crumwell reading the sentence. Before this was passed, there was a disputation, which was opened by a speech from Sampson, Bp. of Chichester. The King himself disputed against Lambert's first position, and "then," as Foxe relates, "he commanded Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, to refute his assertioun; who, first making a short preface unto the hearers, began his disputation with Lambert, very modestly saying, 'Brother Lambert, let this matter be handled between us indifferently, that if I do convince this your argument to be false by the Scriptures, you will willingly refuse the same; but if you shall prove it true by the manifest testimonies of the Scripture, I do promise I will willingly embrace the same.'

"The argument was this, taken out of that place of the Acts of the Apo-

*Cran.* I maintained then the papists' doctrine<sup>t</sup>.

*Mart.* That is to say, the catholic and universal doctrine of Christ's Church. And how when King Henry died? Did you not translate Justus Jonas's book<sup>u</sup>?

*Cran.* I did so.

*Mart.* Then there you defended another doctrine touching the sacrament<sup>x</sup>, by the same token that you sent to

"rem juramenti fidelitatis obedientiæ per ipsum Thomam Cranmerum  
"tempore ejus præfectionis sive consecrationis in Archiepiscopum Can-

"stles, where as Christ appeared unto Saint Paul by the way: disputing out  
"of that place, that it is not disagreeable to the word of God that the body  
"of Christ may be in two places at once, which being in heaven was seen of  
"Saint Paul the same time upon earth; and if it may be in two places, why,  
"by the like reason, may it not be in many places?

"In this manner the Archbishop began to refute the second argument of  
"Lambert, which, as we have before said, was written and delivered by the  
"said Lambert unto the preacher; for the King had first disputed against  
"his first reason.

"Lambert answered unto this argument, saying, that the Minor was not  
"thereby proved, that Christ's body was dispersed in two places, or  
"more; but remained rather still in one place, as touching the manner  
"of his body. For the Scripture doth not say, that Christ being upon  
"the earth, did speak unto Paul; but that suddenly a light from heaven did  
"shine round about him. And he, falling to the ground, heard a voice saying  
"unto him, *Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?—I am Jesus, whom thou  
"persecutest*, &c. Here this place doth nothing let but that Christ, sitting  
"in heaven, might speak unto Paul, and be heard upon earth: for they  
"which were with Paul verily heard the voice, but did see no body.

"The Archbishop, on the contrary part, said, Paul himself doth witness,  
"Acts the six and twentieth, that Christ did appear unto him in the same  
"vision.

"But Lambert again said, that Christ did witness in the same place, that  
"he would again appear unto him, and deliver him out of the hands of the  
"Gentiles: notwithstanding we read in no place that Christ did corporally  
"appear unto him.

"Thus when they had contended about the conversion of Saint Paul, and  
"Lambert so answering for himself, that the King seemed greatly to be moved  
"therewith, and the Bishop himself that disputed to be entangled, and all  
"the audience amazed, then the Bishop of Winchester, which was appointed  
"the sixth place of the disputation, fearing lest the argument should be  
"taken out of his mouth, or rather being drowned with malice against the  
"poor man, without the King's commandment, observing no order, before  
"the Archbishop had made an end, unshamefacedly kneeling down to take  
"in hand the disputation, alleged a place out of the twelfth chapter to the  
"Corinthians." Foxe, *Acts*, &c. vol. ii. p. 425; Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 65.]

<sup>t</sup> So was St. Augustine first a Pagan, then a Manichee, and then a Catholic.

<sup>u</sup> [This was the book commonly called "Cranmer's Catechism," having been translated under his direction from a Catechism compiled in Latin by Justus Jonas, the elder, from the elementary instructions in use among the German pastors. See Preface to *Cranmer's Catechism*, Oxf. 1829; Todd, *Life of Cranmer*, vol. ii. p. 45.]

<sup>x</sup> [Strype appears to have believed this assertion of Martyn, but Dr. Burton has shown that there is good reason for supposing it to be altogether un-

Lynne your printer; that whereas in the first print there was an affirmative, that is to say, Christ's body really in the sacrament, you sent then to your printer to put in a "not," whereby it came miraculously to pass, that Christ's body was clean conveyed out of the sacrament.

*Cran.* I remember there were two printers of my said book, but where the same "not" was put in, I cannot tell.

*Mart.* Then from a Lutheran ye became a Swinglian, which is the vilest heresy of all in the high mystery of the sacrament; and for the same heresy you did help to burn Lambert the sacramentary, which you now call the catholic faith and God's word.

*Cran.* I grant that then I believed otherwise then I do now; and so I did, until my lord of London, Doctor Ridley, did confer with me, and by sundry persuasions and authorities of doctors drew me quite from my opinion <sup>y</sup>.

Dr. Cranmer first won to the knowledge of the sacrament by Bishop Ridley. Supremacy of the Pope.

*Mart.* Now, sir, as touching the last part of your oration, you denied that the Pope's Holiness was supreme head of the Church of Christ.

*Cran.* I did so.

*Mart.* Who say you then is supreme head?

*Cran.* Christ.

"tuar' beato Petro et sedi apostolicæ ac domino nostro Papæ Clementi  
"eisque successoribus Romanis pontificibus præstiti, petitque procu-

founded. No copy has yet been found where the "not" appears; yet, if the charge were true, no others could be expected to exist: for the earlier impressions where it was omitted, would of course, as far as possible, have been suppressed. On the same supposition, the dispute between Cranmer and Gardyner on this point would have taken a different turn. If, as was most likely, Gardyner had been acquainted with the later copies only, he would not have accused Cranmer of asserting the Real Presence: if by any accident he had seen one of the earlier, he would not have failed to have taunted his adversary with the variation. The origin of the charge cannot now be ascertained; but there is much probability in Dr. Burton's conjecture, that it arose from Martyn's confused recollection of a passage in Gardyner's *Explication*. See Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 396; Preface to *Cranmer's Catechism*, p. xxiii. Oxford, 1829; *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 440;) *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. pp. 466. 468.)]

y ["Ne quis autem putet, hunc sanctum Dei martyrem ad asserendam  
"hanc de cœna Dominica explicationem, vel temere, vel factiose descendisse,  
"neutiquam id te latere velim, pie lector, hunc virum post multam Scriptu-  
"rarum pervestigationem, ex unius beati Martyris Ridlæi Episcopi London.  
"institutione, sero tandem (nimirum anno 1546) in eam quam hic tuetur  
"sententiam adductum esse." Preface to Embden edition of the *Defence*,  
attributed to Sir John Cheke.]

*Mart.* But whom hath Christ left here in earth his vicar and head of his Church?

*Cran.* Nobody.

*Mart.* Ah, why told you not King Henry this, when you made him supreme head? and now nobody is<sup>z</sup>. This is treason against his own person, as you then made him.

*Cran.* I mean not but every king in his own realm and dominion is supreme head, and so was he supreme head of the Church of Christ in England.

*Mart.* Is this always true? and was it ever so in Christ's Church?

*Cran.* It was so.

*Mart.* Then what say you by Nero? He was the mightiest prince of the earth, after Christ was ascended. Was he head of Christ's Church?

*Cran.* Nero was Peter's head.

*Mart.* I ask, whether Nero was head of the Church or no? If he were not, it is false that you said before, that all princes be, and ever were, heads of the Church within their realms.

*Cran.* Nay, it is true; for Nero was head of the Church, that is, in worldly respect of the temporal bodies of men, of whom the Church consisteth; for so he beheaded Peter and the Apostles. And the Turk too is head of the Church in Turkey.

*Mart.* Then he that beheaded the heads of the Church, and crucified the Apostles, was head of Christ's Church; and he that was never member of the Church, is head of the Church, by your new found understanding of God's word.

It is not to be supposed contrary but much other matter passed in this communication between them, especially on the Archbishop's behalf: whose answers I do not think to be so slender, nor altogether in the same form of words

The answer of the Archbishop not sincerely reported.

"rator prædictus memoratum dominum Thomam Cranmerum per nos  
"juramento onerari de fideliter respondendo tam dictis articulis et

<sup>z</sup> King Henry was not supreme head but only of his own realm. The Pope will be universal head over all.



framed, if the truth, as it was, might be known. But so it pleased the notary thereof, being too much partially addicted to his mother see of Rome, in favour of his faction, to diminish and drive down the other side, either in not showing all, or in reporting the thing otherwise than it was; as the common guise is of most writers, to what side their affection most weigheth, their oration commonly inclineth. But let us proceed further in the story of this matter.

It followed then, saith this reporter, when the Archbishop thus had answered, and the standers by began to murmur against him, the judges, not content with his answers, willed him to answer directly to the interrogatories; which interrogatories, articulated against him in form of law, were these under following.

*<sup>a</sup>Interrogatories objected to the Archbishop, with his Answers annexed to the same.*

1. *Interrog.* First was objected, that he, the foresaid Thomas Cranmer, being yet free, and before he entered into

Interrogatories laid against the

“scedulæ annex’, quam etiam ceteris per eum superius respective exhibitis, in præsentia ejusdem domini Thomæ Cranmeri recusantis subire juramentum hujusmodi, pro eo, ut asseruit, quod nos procedimus in hac parte auctoritate Romani pontificis. Ceterum salvis protestationibus suis præviis, et etiam sub protestatione quod non intendebat respondere nobis Subdelegato prædicto, sed præfato magistro Thomæ Martyn procuratori antedicto, tunc incontinenti idem Thomas Cranmerus dictis articulis omnibus et singulis superius, ut præfertur, contra eum datis et objectis, ad petitionem præfati magistri Thomæ Martyn procuratoris prædicti et de mandato nostro, tam Latine quam Anglice plene et articulatim ac publice perlectis et declaratis, scedulæque dictis articulis annexæ et ceteris exhibitis antedictis, absque tamen aliquo juramento, deliberate et constanter coram nobis in publico judicio pro tribunali seden’ respondebat, ut sequitur\*.

1. “In primis procurator dictorum illustrissimorum Regis et Regina, ac procuratorio nomine pro eisdem, ponit et articulatur, et si negatum fuerit, probare intendit, Quod idem Thomas Cranmerus ad viginti seu circiter annos elapsos in Archiepiscopum Cantuarien’ (tunc ipsa sede Archiepiscopali et Ecclesia metropolitana Cantuar’ per mortem recolendæ memoriæ Will’mi Warrham ultimi Archiepiscopi ibidem et illius Thomæ immediati prædecessoris vacante) auctoritate sedis apostolicæ utcumque præfectus fuit, atque per nonnullos citra annos

\* [It will be seen by referring to the official document, that these Interrogatories are not given correctly.]

\* [The articles of accusation are inserted here from another part of the document. *Processus contra Cranmerum*, p. 1101.]

Archbishop.

holy orders, married one Joane, surnamed black, or brown, dwelling at the sign of the Dolphin, in Cambridge<sup>b</sup>.

The first marriage of the Archbishop.

*Ans.* Whereunto he answered, that whether she was called black or brown he knew not; but that he married there one Joane, that he granted.

2. *Interrog.* That, after the death of the foresaid wife, he entered into holy orders, and after that was made Archbishop by the Pope.

*Ans.* He received, he said, a certain bull of the Pope, which he delivered unto the King, and was Archbishop by him.

The second marriage of the Archbishop.

3. *Interrog.* Item, That he, being in holy orders, married another woman, as his second wife, named Anne; and so was twice married<sup>c</sup>.

*Ans.* To this he granted.

4. *Interrog.* Item, In the time of King Henry the Eighth he kept the said wife secretly, and had children by her<sup>d</sup>.

"pro Archiepiscopo metropolitanoque ejusdem Ecclesiæ metropolitæ se gessit, et aliquo modo se gerit prædixitque in præsentia; hocque fuit et est verum, publicum, notorium, manifestum pariter et famosum. . . .

2. "Item . . . Quod olim, antequam dictus Thomas Cranmerus dictæ Cantuar' Ecclesiæ, ut præfertur, præfectus fuit, et ante ullos sacros ordines ab eo susceptos, ad xxx<sup>a</sup> et ultra annos elapsos quandam mulierem communiter et vulgo nominatam Johannam, alias *Black Joanne of the Dolphin*, in Cantabrigia Elien' diocesis, (seu alio forsitan nomine sive cognomine vocatam) in uxorem duxit. . . .

3. "Item . . . Quod dictus Thomas Cranmerus post mortem dictæ uxoris suæ presbyter effectus ac in sacro ordine sacerdotali constitutus, quandam aliam mulierem Annam nominatam, seu forsitan aliter vocatam, de facto, quum de jure non deberet, in suam conjugem accepit, et in Archiepiscopum Cantuar' auctoritate prædicta utcumque præfectus fuit. . . .

4. "Item . . . Quod ipse Thomas Cranmerus mulierem hujusmodi sic per eum secundo tanquam uxorem acceptam, pro uxore usque ad

b ["And so being Master of Arts and Fellow of Jesus College, it chanced him to marry a gentleman's daughter: by means whereof he lost and gave over his fellowship there, and became the reader in Buckingham College [now Magdalen;] and for that he would with more diligence apply that his office of reading, he placed his said wife in an inn, called the Dolphin, in Cambridge, the wife of the house being of affinity unto her." Foxe, vol. iii. p. 633. She died in childbed about a year after the marriage, and Cranmer was reelected Fellow of Jesus.]

c [He married the niece of Osiander, during his embassy in Germany, 1532. Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 14.]

d [According to the official report, he admitted 'quod ab eadem plures proles habuit.' Mr. Todd, in the genealogical table prefixed to his *Life of*

*Ans.* Hereunto he also granted; affirming that it was better for him to have his own, than to do like other priests, holding and keeping other men's wives.

5. *Interrog.* Item, In the time of King Edward he brought out the said wife openly, affirming and professing publicly the same to be his wife.

*Ans.* He denied not but he so did, and lawfully might do the same, forasmuch as the laws of the realm did so permit him.

6. *Interrog.* Item, That he shamed not openly to glory himself to have had his wife in secret many years.

*Ans.* And though he so did, he said, there was no cause why he should be ashamed thereof.

7. *Interrog.* Item, That the said Thomas Cranmer, falling afterward into the deep bottom of errors, did fly and refuse the authority of the Church; did hold and follow the heresy concerning the sacrament of the altar; and also did compile and caused to be set abroad divers books.

The Archbishop charged with his doctrine and books.

*Ans.* Whereunto, when the names of the books were recited to him, he denied not such books which he was the author of<sup>e</sup>. As touching the treatise of Peter Martyr upon

“mortem Henrici Octavi nuper Angliæ Regis, clanculum tamen et (ut fieri potuit) secrete tenuit, habuit, et custodivit.

5. “Item . . . Quod memoratus Thomas Cranmerus a morte dicti Regis Henrici et tempore Edwardi sexti tunc immediate Angliæ Regis, eandem mulierem sic secundo acceptam non secrete, ut prius, sed palam, publice, notorieque, et manifeste, citra ullum pudorem et verecundiam, tanquam suam uxorem et pro sua uxore, tam in mensa quam alibi, de facto tenuit, acceptavit, et tractavit, et cum ea tanquam cum sua uxore cohabitavit, prolesque et liberos multos ex eadem suscitavit et habuit. . . .

6. “Item . . . Quod dictus Thomas Cranmerus adeo impudens existens, ut turpitudinem suam in hac parte manifeste jactando detegeret, et in publicum totius hujus regni Angliæ conspectum notorie deduceret, tempore dicti Regis Edwardi (et ipso regnante) publice asseruit et affirmavit, inter cetera, se dictam mulierem secundam ex multis antea annis in uxorem suscepisse et cum ea cohabitasse, necnon proles et liberos, ut præfertur, ab eadem suscitasse. . . .

7. “Item . . . Quod prælibatus Thomas Cranmerus ad profundum

*Cranmer*, mentions a son and two daughters; of whom Thomas and Margaret survived him, and were restored in blood, 1563.]

<sup>e</sup> [There is some confusion respecting the books here mentioned, even between the different parts of the official report; *A Discourse of the Lord's Supper*, &c. being named in Cranmer's answer, which does not appear in the corresponding article of accusation. Peter Martyr printed two works on the

the sacrament, he denied that he ever saw it before it was abroad, yet did approve and well like of the same. As for the Catechism<sup>f</sup>, the book of Articles, with the other book against Winchester, he granted the same to be his doings.

8. *Interrog.* Item, That he compelled many, against their wills, to subscribe to the same Articles.

*Ans.* He exhorted, he said, such as were willing to subscribe; but against their wills he compelled none<sup>g</sup>.

9. *Interrog.* Item, Forsomuch as he surceased not to

*A defence of the true and catho<sup>l</sup> doctrine of the sacrament of the bodie and blood of our saivo<sup>r</sup>. Christe etc. A discourse vpon the sacrament of the Lords supper solemplic handled at the vniuersitie of Oxforde by docto<sup>r</sup>. Petri Martir etc. Catechismus brevis Christiane discipline etc. Articuli de quibus in Sinodo Londonien<sup>si</sup> a<sup>n</sup>. dñi. 1552. etc. An Answer of the most reuerende father in God Thomas Archeshop of Cant<sup>o</sup> vnto a craftie and sophisticall cavillation devised by Steven Gardiner etc.*

"malorum veniens (Christiana fide et religione penitus contemptis) in hæreses suas quas longe antea imberbat, et maxime contra venerabile Eucharistiæ sacramentum, libros una cum copia istorum articulorum sibi ostensos, propositos, et traditos, ac in margine hujus articuli expressos sive designatos, eorumque vim, formam, tenorem et effectum edidit lingua partim Latina, partim Anglicana, saltem sic edi imprimique et orbi publicari fecit etiam suo nomine, ipsasque hæreses publice asseruit et docuit. . . .

8. "Item . . . Quod præfatus Thomas Cranmerus articulis quibusdam hæreticis, maxime inter cetera contra veritatem veramque præsentiam corporis et sanguinis Christi in Eucharistia editis et conceptis, verumque et reale ac perfectum Christi corpus in ipso sacramento sub specie sive forma panis et vini notorie denegantibus, sub nomine Cleri Cantuarien<sup>sis</sup> falso editis et publicatis, pastores, rectores, et ecclesiarum curatos non paucos subscribere coegit, fecit, et compulsi. . . .

9. "Item . . . Quod dictus Thomas, quia libros et articulos antedictos modis quibus potuit non cessabat defendere, tum ut factionis et hæresis suæ participes in

Eucharist in 1549; one entitled *Disputatio de Eucharistiæ sacramento habita in celeberr. Universitate Oxoniæ*, &c.; the other, *Tractatio de sacramento Eucharistiæ habita publice Oxonii*, &c. The Disputation was published at the request of Cranmer and of the Royal Commissioners before whom it was held. "Quid enim negare ausim," says he in an address to the reader, "Reverendissimo Archiepisc. Cantuariensi, cui plane omnia debeo? Quidve Regiis visitatoribus, qui hisce disputationibus non solum interfuerunt, sed præfuerunt? Damus itaque tibi hanc Disputationem, cui ad majorem evidentiam, Tractationem de eadem re adjecimus." To the *Tractatio* was prefixed a long Epistle dedicatory to Cranmer. Both were translated into English; the latter by Nic. Udall, under the title, *A Discourse or Traicthese of Petur Martyr Vermilla*, &c. See Wood, *Athenæ*, vol. i. p. 329. ed. Bliss; Strype, *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 196; Ames, *Typograph. Antiq.* Dildin, vol. iv. p. 314; Pet. Martyr. *De Eucharist.* pp. 614. 662. ed. 1562.]

<sup>f</sup> [The work here meant was not Cranmer's *Catechism*, mentioned above, (p. 96. note (u)), but the *Short Catechism* attached to the Articles of 1552. See *Disputation at Oxford with Chedsey*, p. 65. note (u). The official report, in which Cranmer is represented to answer, "se adhibuisse ejus consilium circa editionem ejusdem," sufficiently explains the phrase, "he granted the same to be his doings." See also Heylin, *Hist. of Reformat.* p. 108.]

<sup>g</sup> [It will be seen by reference to the official report, that most of the wit-

perpetrate enorme and inordinate crimes, he was therefore cast into the Tower, and from thence was brought to Oxford, at what time it was commonly thought that the Parliament there should be holden.

*Ans.* To this he said, that he knew no such enorme and inordinate crimes that ever he committed.

10. *Interrog.* Item, That in the said City of Oxford he did openly maintain his heresy, and there was convict upon the same<sup>h</sup>.

*Ans.* He defended, he said, there the cause of the sacrament; but that he was convicted in the same, that he denied.

11. *Interrog.* Item, When he persevered still in the same, he was, by the public censure of the University, pronounced an heretic, and his books to be heretical.

*Ans.* That he was so denounced, he denied not; but that he was an heretic, or his books heretical, that he denied.

12. *Interrog.* Item, That he was and is notoriously infamed with the note of schism, as who not only himself re-

“ impietate retineret, tum ut alios ad eandem nequitiam pertraheret, auctoritate serenissimæ dominæ Mariæ Reginae prædictæ (et ejus consiliariis suadentibus) e turri et carcere London’, ubi ob sua enormia nefandaque scelera, delicta, et crimina detentus fuit, ad Academiam Oxonien’, ubi tunc Parliamentum futur’ sperabatur, mittebatur: hocque fuit et est verum, publicum, notorium, manifestum pariter et famosum. . . .

10. “ Item . . . Quod idem Thomas Cranmerus in dicta Academia Oxonien’ (publica disputatione secum ex more scholarum habita) libros et articulos prædictos publice pro viribus defendebat, et sic quatenus potuit defendens exsibilatus et convictus fuit. . . .

11. “ Item . . . Quod memoratus Thomas Cranmerus, quia sic libros articulos et hæreses prædict’ pro viribus defendebat, et quia modo præmisso convictus cedere et ab eisdem recedere pertinaciter recusavit, scholastico et academico Oxonien’ decreto pro hæretico et impio execratoque pronunciatus fuit et declaratus, librique et articuli prædicti pro hæreticis, impiis, et execratis pronunciati similiter et declarati fuerunt. . . .

12. “ Item . . . Quod præfatus Thomas Cranmerus fuit et est merus et notorius schismaticus, ex eo præsertim, quod non solum ab unitate catholicæ et universalis Ecclesiæ ipsiusque Ecclesiæ constitutionibus,

nesses were silent on this article, and that those who tendered any evidence upon it, spoke only from hearsay. *Processus contra Cranmerum*, p. 1080, &c.]

<sup>h</sup> [See *Disputations at Oxford*, above, pp. 11, 67, 77.]

ceded from the catholic Church and See of Rome, but also moved the King and subjects of this realm to the same.

*Ans.* As touching the receding, that he well granted; but that receding or departing, said he, was only from the See of Rome, and had in it no matter of any schism.

The Arch-  
bishop  
sworn to  
the Pope  
by protesta-  
tion.

13. *Interrog.* Item, That he had been twice sworn to the Pope: and withal Dr. Martin brought out the instrument of the public Notary, wherein was contained his protestation made when he should be consecrated, asking if he had any thing else protested.

*Ans.* Whereunto he answered, that he did nothing but by the laws of the realm.

14. *Interrog.* Item, That he, the said Archbishop of Canterbury, did not only offend in the premises, but also in taking upon him the authority of the See of Rome, in that,

“ordinationibus, ritibus, decretis, sanisque doctrinis et determinationibus, variis et innumeris modis, atque a sede apostolica Ecclesiae Romanae totius Ecclesiae catholicae sola matrice, summoque et Romano pontifici et domino nostro Papa ejusdem Ecclesiae catholicae et universalis solo sub Christo capite recessit; verum etiam ex eo, quod tum hujus regni Angliae Regem Henricum Octavum, tum etiam plures alios hujus regni Angliae episcopos, praelatos, et proceres et magnates, atque utriusque sexus personas quamplurimas sic recedere, summoque pontifici et ejus ac sedis apostolicae auctoritati renunciare procuravit et fecit, et in ea parte ejus consilium et auxilium adhibuit, etiam pluribus et variis modis quosdam eorum ad sic recedendum et renunciandum compulit et coegit, necnon in ea parte specialis praecipuusque et principalis seu quasi instigator et fautor fuit, pro talique et ut talis, fuit et est communiter dictus, tentus, habitus, nominatus et reputatus palam, publice, et notorie. . . .

13. “Item . . . Quod praefatus Thomas Cranmerus auctoritate sedis apostolicae et domini nostri Papae Cantuarien’ Archiepiscopus, ut praefertur, consecratus et praefectus, (inter cetera tempore consecrationis suae hujusmodi, paulove antea aut citra) fidelitatem et obedientiam beato Petro sanctaeque et apostolicae Romanae Ecclesiae et sanctissimo domino nostro Papae tunc existenti ejusque successoribus juxta tenorem scedulae praesentibus annexae saltem in effectu praestitit, et in ea parte juramentum ad sancta Dei evangelia subivit. . . .

14. “Item . . . Quod dictus Thomas Cranmerus, ejus fidelitatis obedientiaeque et juramenti praestatione praedictis et ceteris praemissis non obstantibus, (sed penitus spretis et postpositis) spiritu perversi consilii ductus immo verius seductus, non solum modo praemisso ab Ecclesiae unitate sedeque apostolica et domino nostro domino Papa ejusque auctoritate recessit, et alios supranominatos recedere et ut praefertur renunciare fecit, procuravit, et coegit, in plurimasque et varias haereses lapsus sit; verum etiam ipsius summi pontificis et sedis apostolicae auctoritatem in se assumere et usurpare praesumendo, saltem profana et illicita auctoritate utendo, (et omnino absque hujus-

without leave or license from the said See, he consecrated bishops and priests.

*Ans.* He granted that he did execute such things as were wont to be referred to the Pope, at what time it was permitted to him by the public laws and determination of the realm.

15. *Interrog.* Item, That when the whole realm had subscribed to the authority of the Pope, he only still persisted in his error.

*Ans.* That he did not admit the Pope's authority, he confessed to be true; but that he erred in the same, that he denied.

16. *Interrog.* Item, That all and singular the premises be true.

*Ans.* That likewise he granted, excepting those things whereunto he had now answered.

"modi summi pontificis et sedis apostolicæ auctoritate) tam episcopos  
"consecrare, ceteraque ad solam sedem apostolicam et dominum no-  
"strum Papam et ad nullum alium spectantia attemptare et peragere  
"præsumpsit: quorum præmissorum prætextu idem Thomas Cran-  
"merus tum reatum crimenque hæresis et schismatis, tum etiam reatum  
"perjurii etiam voluntarii notorie et manifeste incurrerat et incurrit:  
"hocque fuit et est verum, publicum, notorium, manifestum pariter et  
"famosum. . . .

15. "Item . . . Quod licet hujus regni Angliæ subditi et utriusque  
"sexus personæ, nuper ad octo seu novem menses aut circiter elapsos, a  
"schismate pernicioso, quo hoc regnum antea pestifere infectum fuit,  
"recesserunt, atque ad Ecclesiæ unitatem redierunt, sedisque apostolicæ  
"et sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ ac domini nostri domini Papæ  
"auctoritatem receperunt, acceptarunt, et admiserunt, et in ea parte a  
"schismate et ab hæresibus, quibus infecti et involuti fuerunt, reconci-  
"liationem auctoritate dictæ sedis apostolicæ et domini nostri Papæ  
"obtinuerunt, præfatus tamen Thomas Cranmerus animo perverso et  
"indurato corde, in hæresibus suis et in schismatis reatu (quibus antea  
"infectus fuit) adhuc involutus remanet et jacet infectus, atque se in ea  
"parte debite reconciliare, ejusque hæresi errori et schismati renunciare,  
"ad unitatemque Ecclesiæ catholicæ et dominum nostrum Papam  
"summumque pontificem caput ejusdem Ecclesiæ redire contempsit et  
"neglexit, ac sic pertinaciter contemnit et negligit in præsentī: hoc-  
"que fuit et est verum, publicum, notorium, manifestum pariter et fa-  
"mosum. . . .

16. "Item . . . Quod præmissa omnia et singula, præsertim in hoc  
"regno Angliæ, fuerunt et sunt vera, publica, notoria, manifesta pariter  
"et famosa apud omnis ordinis homines, etiam tam publica, vera, noto-  
"ria, manifesta et famosa, quod ulla tergiversatione celari non possunt,  
"atque pro talibus et ut talia taliterque facta et perpetrata, communiter  
"dicta, tenta, habita, nominata et reputata palam, publice, et notorie.

After he had thus answered to the objections aforesaid, and the public Notary had entered the same, the Judges and Commissioners, as having now accomplished that where-

" Unde petit procurator illustrissimorum et serenissimorum domino-  
rum Regis et Reginae prædict' ac procuratorio nomine pro eisdem, jus  
" et justitiam de et super præmissis et ea continentibus quibuscunque  
" conjunctim et divisim fieri et ministrari, non arctans se ad omnia et  
" singula præmissa probanda, nec ad onus superfluae probationis eorun-  
" dem, de quo protestatur specialiter in hac parte, juris beneficio in  
" omnibus semper salvo, ac vestrum officium, domine Judex, antedict'  
" in hac parte humiliter implorando.

1. "[Præfatus Thomas Cranmerus] ad primum articulum\* respon-  
det, se recepisce bullas a curia Romana et a Romano pontifice pro  
" receptione Archiepiscopatus Cantuar', quas bullas (ut asseruit) ob-  
" tulit dicto tunc Regi Henrico Octavo, et ab eodem Rege et ejus  
" auctoritate (ut etiam asseruit) eundem Archiepiscopatum recepit: et  
" aliter negat hunc articulum esse verum.

2. " Ad secundum fatetur contenta in eodem esse vera.

3. " Ad tertium fatetur, se acceptasse et duxisse mulierem in uxorem  
" postquam recepit sacrum ordinem sacerdotalem, et circa viginti annos  
" post mortem primæ uxoris suæ: et aliter hunc articulum negat esse  
" verum.

4. " Ad quartum fatetur contenta in eodem esse vera.

5. " Ad quintum fatetur, se secrete tenuisse dictam mulierem se-  
" cundo per eum acceptam quousque per statuta et leges hujus regni  
" Angliæ (ut asseruit) ei licitum fuit habere uxorem, et quod tunc eam  
" publice tenuit, et ab eadem plures proles habuit: et aliter negat arti-  
" culum hujusmodi.

6. " Ad vj fatetur eundem esse verum, tamen sine pudore aut vere-  
" cundia, ut dicit.

7. " Ad septimum fatetur, se edidisse librum in hac parte exhibitum  
" et in articulo mentionatum vocat' *A defense of the true and catholicke*  
" *feithe etc.*, et negat se edidisse librum in eodem articulo etiam men-  
" tionatum vocat' *A discourse of Peter Martir etc.*, et quoad tertium  
" librum vocat' *A discourse of the Lords supper etc.* negat se illum edi-  
" disse, tamen credit quod hujusmodi liber est bonus et catholicus, et  
" quoad catechismum et articulos in eodem, fatetur se adhibuisse ejus  
" consilium circa editionem ejusdem, et quoad librum vocat' *An aun-*  
" *swer of the moste reuerende father in God etc.* fatetur se edidisse  
" illam partem ejusdem libri quæ continet ejus responsa ad librum edi-  
" tum per reverendum patrem Winton' Episcopum.

8. " Ad octavum respondet, se nunquam coegisse aliquos hujusmodi  
" articulis subscribere, tamen dicit quod plures clericorum provincie  
" Cant' eisdem articulis voluntarie subscripserunt, quorum subscriptiones  
" recepit ut dicit: et aliter negat articulum hujusmodi.

9. " Ad novum fatetur, quod a turri London' ad Academiam Oxon'  
" ductus fuit: et aliter negat contenta in eodem.

10. " Ad decimum fatetur, se pro viribus defeudisse libros et articulos

\* [In his Letter to a Lawyer, and in his Appeal to a General Council, Cranmer complained, that though he had not been allowed to correct these answers according to the promise of the Commissioners, they were yet registered as formal and official acts.]



fore they came, were about to rise up and depart. But the Bishop of Gloucester, thinking it not the best so to dismiss the people, being somewhat stirred with the words of the Archbishop, began in his oration, in the hearing of the people, thus to declaim.

[The Speech of Bp. Brokes, which Foxe inserts here, consists chiefly of a defence of himself and of the Church of Rome against the attack of Cranmer. The object of it is thus stated in the concluding sentence: "Thus much I have said, not for you, Master Cranmer, for my hope that I conceived of you is now gone and past; but somewhat to satisfy the rude and unlearned people, that they, perceiving your arrogant lying and lying arrogancy, may the better eschew your detestable and abominable schism."]

And thus ended the Prelate his worshipful tale. After whom, Dr. Story taketh the matter, and thus inferred in words as followeth:

Master Cranmer, you have made a goodly process concerning your heretical oath made to the King, but you for-

Dr. Story's  
talk to the  
Archbishop.

"mentionatos in hoc articulo (et in loco articulado) et contenta in eisdem: et aliter negat.

11. "Ad undecimum fatetur sententiam de facto fuisse contra eum latam, eo quod defendebat libros et articulos prædictos, et tamen dicit quod in illis libris et articulis non sunt hæreses aliquæ contentæ: et aliter respondet negative.

12. "Ad duodecesimum respondet, quod recessit ab auctoritate Romani pontificis, et aliis (quantum potuit) persuasit ut sic recederent, propter enormitates illic (ut dixit) regnantes, tamen per hoc dicit eum non esse schismaticum, nec per hoc recessisse ab Ecclesia catholica: et aliter credit hunc articulum non esse verum in aliquo.

13. "Ad decimum tertium et scedulam fatetur, se præstitisse juramentum obedientiæ, prout continetur in scedula huic articulo annexa, tamen hoc fecit (ut asseruit) sub protestatione in instrumento publico, ut præfertur, in hac parte exhibito contenta, et non aliter.

14. "Ad xiiij respondet et fatetur, se recessisse (ut præfertur) ab auctoritate Romani pontificis et aliis sic recedere persuasit, hoc tamen (ut dicit) non fecit ante legem inde factam auctoritate Parlamenti Angliæ, et etiam dicit, quod post leges hujusmodi et earum auctoritate consecravit episcopos, et cetera fecit quæ ante legem hujusmodi factam ad Romanum pontificem pertinebant, et quæ per ipsum Romanum pontificem antea fieri solebant: et aliter negat.

15. "Ad xv respondet, quod ante receptionem Romani pontificis auctoritatis, et ante reconciliationem nuperrime in hoc Angliæ regno factam, hoc regnum in bono statu remansit, atque maxime optat quod modo in eodem statu remaneret, et fatebatur (ut prius) se recessisse

get your oath made to the See apostolic. As concerning your oath made to the King, if you made it to him only, it took an end by his death, and so it is released: if you made it to his successors, well, sir, the true successors have the empire, and they will you to dissolve the same and become a member of Christ's Church again; and it standeth well with charity.

To this the Archbishop answered again, saith the reporter: but what his answer was, that he suppresseth, and returneth to the words of Doctor Story, who, imperiously turning his speech again to the Archbishop, said as followeth:

Three things required in an oath.

Hold your peace, sir, and so shall it right well become you, considering that I gave you license before to say your fancy. Your oath was no oath; for it lacked the three points of an oath; that is to say, *judicium, justitiam, et veritatem*.

Dr. Story calleth for witnesses.

These, with the like words to the same effect, being uttered by Doctor Story, seeking to break up and make an end of that session, he eftsoons called for witnesses to be produced, who should be sworn upon the book, to utter and declare, the next day, whatsoever they knew, or could remember to be inferred, against Dr. Cranmer's heresy. The names of the witnesses are these:

Witnesses sworn against the Archbishop.

Doctor Marshall, Commissary,	}	Doctor Croke.
and Dean of Christ Church.		Mr. London.
Doctor Smith, under Commissary.		Mr. Curtop.
Doctor Tresham.		Mr. Ward.
		Mr. Serles.

“ ab auctoritate Romani pontificis, et quod non intendit ad illam auctoritatem redire, vel eandem aliquo modo admittere, ut dicit.

16. “ Ad ultimum negat contenta in eodem aliter esse vera quam superius respondebat, ut dicit.

“ Ac incontinenti (responsionibus prædicti domini Thomæ Cranmeri modo præmisso publice et judicialiter factis, receptis, et conscriptis) dictus venerabilis vir Magister Thomas Martyn procurator prædictus, ac nomine procuratorio quo supra, acceptavit responsa superius facta et contenta in eisdem, quatenus faciunt pro parte et intentione dictorum illustrissimorum dominorum suorum, atque super articulis et exhibitis prædictis produxit venerabiles viros Magistros Will'm Tresham, Richardum Marshall, Richardum Smythe, et Richardum Croke,

i After the depositions of which witnesses being taken, The Archbishop re-  
 Doctor Story admonished the Archbishop, permitting him fuseth those  
 to make his exceptions, if he thought any of the said wit- Jurates  
 nesses were to be refused. Who then would admit none of perjured.  
 them all, being men perjured, and not in Christian religion.  
 For if to swear, said he, against the Pope were unlawful,  
 they should rather have given their lives than their oath.  
 But if it were lawful, then are they perjured, to defend  
 him whom they forswore before. Nevertheless, this answer  
 of the Archbishop being lightly regarded, as little to the  
 purpose appertaining, he was commanded again to the place The Arch-  
 from whence he came. Who, at his departing out, like as bishop sent  
 at his first coming in, showed low obedience to Doctor again to  
 Martin and to Doctor Story, the Queen's Commissioners. Bocardo.  
 Then Doctor Story, pointing him to the Bishop of Glouces-  
 ter, said, that he ought rather to give reverence unto him. The Arch-  
 So the reverend Archbishop departing, without any obei- bishop  
 sance exhibited to the Bishop, all the other rose up, and again  
 departed every one to his own. And thus brake up the giveth no  
 session for that day, about two of the clock at afternoon. reverence  
 to the  
 Pope's De-  
 legate.

“ sacre theologiæ doctores, Jacobum Curtopp, Robertum Warde, Geor-  
 “ gium London, et Robertum Serles, in testes; quos nos ad petitionem  
 “ procuratoris hujusmodi in testes admisimus, et in forma jurandorum  
 “ testium tactis per eos sacrosanctis scripturis de fideliter deponendo  
 “ et de dicendo omnem et meram veritatem, cum fuerint examinati in  
 “ hac parte de et super præmissis super quibus modo præmisso producti  
 “ fuerunt, omni amicitia, favore, affectione, odio, timore et displicentia  
 “ postpositis et semotis, juxta formam, modum, et morem in simili testium  
 “ admissione et juramenti præstatione solit’ et consuet’ et in hac parte  
 “ de jure requisit’, jurari fecimus in præsentia dicti domini Thomæ  
 “ Cranmeri, sub ejus protestationibus præviis allegantis, quod dicti tes-  
 “ tes nullo modo in hac parte sunt testes idonei, nec eisdem fides aliqua  
 “ in hac parte fuit aut est (ut asseruit) adhibenda, pro eo, ut etiam as-  
 “ seruit, sunt perjuri in eo quod subierunt juramentum domino Regi  
 “ Angliæ tanquam supremo capiti, ac modo contra hujusmodi juramen-  
 “ tum, ut præfertur, per eos præstitum admiserunt auctoritatem Romani  
 “ pontificis. Et tunc idem dominus Thomas interrogatus, an velit ali-  
 “ quibus aliis exceptionibus uti contra testes prædictos, seu aliqua in-  
 “ terrogatoria contra eos ministrare, respondebat quod noluit, nec ulte-  
 “ rius aliquid in hac parte dicere, proponere, vel objicere.”

i [According to the official report, these depositions were taken on the  
 following day at New College, “ in quadam superiori camera sive pergula  
 “ Gardiani.” They may be seen in the *Processus contra Cranm.* pp. 1079,  
 1080, &c.]

The answer of the Archbishop not indifferently reported.

And thus much hitherto concerning the summary effect of this action or session, with the orations, discourses, and articles commenced against the Archbishop of Canterbury; also with the reasons and answers of the said Archbishop to their objections and interrogatories. Touching which his answers, forsomuch as they, being recited by report of a papist, as is aforesaid, seem to be not indifferently handled, it shall therefore not greatly be out of our matter . . . to declare and set forth, somewhat more amply and effectually, what speech the said Archbishop used for himself in the same action, by the faithful relation and testimony of certain other, who were likewise there present, and do thus report the effect of the Archbishop's words, answering to the first oration of Bishop Brooks, in manner as followeth.

*A more full answer of the Archbishop of Canterbury to the first oration of Bishop Brooks<sup>k</sup>.*

A more full answer of the Archbishop to Bp. Brookes's oration.

My lord, you have very learnedly and eloquently in your oration put me in remembrance of many things touching myself, wherein I do not mean to spend the time in answering of them. I acknowledge God's goodness to me in all his gifts, and thank him as heartily for this state wherein I find myself now, as ever I did for the time of my prosperity; and it is not the loss of my promotions that grieveth

<sup>k</sup> [In the first edition of Foxe, Cranmer's answer to Brokes's speech is introduced thus:

"When the Bishop had thus ended his tale, my lord of Canterbury desiring license to speak, which was gently granted him by the Bishop, made answer to this effect: 'My lord, I do not acknowledge 'this session of yours, nor yet you as my lawful judge; neither would 'I have appeared here this day before you, but that I was brought 'hither as a prisoner. And therefore I openly here renounce you for 'my judge, protesting that my meaning is not to make any answers 'as in a lawful judgment, (for then would I be silent,) but only for 'that I am bound in conscience to answer every man of that hope 'which I have in Jesus Christ, by the counsel of St. Peter, and lest 'by my silence many of those which are weak here present might be 'offended. And so I desire that my answers may be accepted as 'extrajudicialia.' And when he had ended his protestation, he began thus: 'My lord, you have very learnedly,'" &c. Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. 1563. p. 1481.]

me. The greatest grief I have at this time is, and one of the greatest that ever I had in all my life, to see the King and Queen's Majesties, by their Proctors, here to become my accusers, and that in their own realm and country, before a foreign power. If I have transgressed the laws of the land, their Majesties have sufficient authority and power, both from God and by the ordinance of this realm, to punish me; whereunto I both have, and at all times shall be content to submit myself.

Alas! what hath the Pope to do in England? whose jurisdiction is so far different from the jurisdiction of this realm, that it is impossible to be true to the one and true to the other. The laws also are so diverse, that whosoever sweareth to both, must needs incur perjury to the one. Which, as oft as I remember, even for the love that I bear to her Grace, I cannot but be heartily sorry to think upon it, how that her Highness, the day of her coronation, at which time she took a solemn oath to observe all the laws and liberties of this realm of England, at the same time also took an oath to the Bishop of Rome, and promised to maintain that See. The State of England being so repugnant to the supremacy of the Pope, it was impossible but she must needs be forsworn in the one. Wherein if her Grace had been faithfully advertised by her Council, then surely she would never have done it.

The laws of this realm are, that the King of England is the supreme and sole governor of all his countries and dominions; and that he holdeth his crown and sceptre of himself, by the ancient laws, customs, and descents of the kings of the realm, and of none other. The Pope saith, that all emperors and kings hold their crowns and regalities of him, and that he may depose them when he list; which is high treason for any man to affirm and think, being born within the King's dominions.

The laws of England are, that all bishops and priests, offending in cases of felony or treason, are to be judged and tried by the laws and customs of the realm. The Pope's laws are, that the secular power cannot judge the spiritual

Queen Mary accuseth the Archbishop for taking her own part against a foreign power.

The laws of the realm and of the Pope are contrary.

No man can be true both to the realm and to the Pope together.

The contrariety between the laws of this realm and of the Pope described.

power, and that they are not under their jurisdiction ; which robbeth the King of the one part of his people.

Kings and princes cannot use their own laws in their dominions for the Pope.

The laws also of England are, that whosoever hindereth the execution or proceeding of the laws of England, for any other foreign laws, ecclesiastical or temporal, incurreth the danger of a *præmunire*. The Pope's laws are, that whosoever hindereth the proceedings or executions of his laws, for any other laws of any other king or country, both the prince himself, his council, all his officers, scribes, clerks, and whosoever give consent or aid to the making or executing of any such laws, stand accursed. A heavy case, if his curse were any thing worth, that the King and Queen cannot use their own laws, but they and all theirs must

Causes why the Archbishop would not admit the Pope.

stand accursed. These things and many more examples he alleged, which, he said, stirred him that he could not give his consent to the receiving of such an enemy into the realm, so subverting the dignity and ancient liberties of the same.

And as for the matter of heresy and schism wherewith he was charged, he protested and called God to witness, that he knew none that he maintained. But if that were an heresy to deny the Pope's authority, and the religion which the See of Rome hath published to the world these later years, then all the ancient Fathers of the primitive Church, the Apostles, and Christ himself, taught heresy : and he desired all them present to bear him witness, that he took

The Pope's religion most erroneous.

the traditions and religion of that usurping prelate to be most erroneous, false, and against the doctrine of the whole Scripture, which he had oftentimes well proved by writing ; and the author of the same to be very Antichrist, so often preached of by the Apostles and Prophets, in whom did most evidently concur all signs and tokens whereby he was pointed out to the world to be known.

All marks of Anti-christ must concur in the Pope.

The Pope's pride and tyranny.

For it was most evident that he had advanced himself above all emperors and kings of the world, whom he affirmeth to hold their estates and empires of him, as of their chief, and to be at his commandment, to depose and erect at his good will and pleasure ; and that the stories make mention of his intolerable and insolent pride and tyranny,

used over them in such sort as no king would have used to his Christian subjects, nor yet a good master to his servants; setting his feet on the Emperor's neck, affirming that to be verified in him which was spoken only of our Saviour Jesus Christ, in these words, *Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis, et conculcabis leonem et draconem*. Other some had he made to hold his stirrup; others he had displaced and removed from their empires and seats royal: and not content herewithal, more insolent then Lucifer, he hath occupied not only the highest place in this world, above kings and princes, but hath further presumed to sit in the seat of Almighty God, which only He reserved to Himself, which is the conscience of man; and to keep the possession thereof, he hath promised forgiveness of sins *totiens quotiens*. Marks of Antichrist.

He hath brought in gods of his own framing, and invented a new religion, full of gain and lucre, quite contrary to the doctrine of the holy Scripture, only for the maintaining of his kingdom, displacing Christ from his glory, and holding his people in a miserable servitude of blindness, to the loss of a great number of souls, which God at the latter day shall exact at his hand; boasting many times in his Canons and Decrees, that he can dispense "contra Petrum, contra Paulum, contra Vetus et Novum Testamentum;" and that he "plenitudine potestatis, tantum potest quantum Deus:" that is, "Against Peter, against Paul, against the Old and New Testament; and of the fulness of power may do as much as God." The Pope dispenseth against the New and Old Testament. O Lord, who ever heard such blasphemy? If there be any man that can advance himself above him, let him be judged Antichrist.

This enemy of God and of our redemption is so evidently painted out in the Scriptures, by such manifest signs and tokens, which all so clearly appear in him, that, except a man will shut up his eyes and heart against the light, he cannot but know him: and therefore, for my part, I will never give my consent to the receiving of him into this Church of England. And you, my lord, and the rest that sit here in commission, consider well and examine your own consciences; you have sworn against him, you are learned,

and can judge of the truth. I pray God you be not wilfully blind. As for me, I have herein discharged mine own conscience toward the world, and I will write also my mind to her Grace, touching this matter<sup>1</sup>. . . .

While he in this sort made his answer, ye heard before how Doctor Story and Martin divers times interrupted him with blasphemous talk, and would fain have had the Bishop of Gloucester to put him to silence: who notwithstanding did not, but suffered him to end his tale at full. After this, ye heard also, how they proceeded to examine him of divers articles, whereof the chief was, that at the time of his creating Archbishop of Canterbury he was sworn to the Pope, and had his institution and induction from him, and promised to maintain then the authority of that See, and therefore was perjured: wherefore he should rather stick to his first oath, and return to his old fold again, then to continue obstinately in an oath forced in the time of schism.

His answer  
to their ar-  
ticles.  
How Cran-  
mer was  
made Arch-  
bishop  
against his  
will.

To that he answered, saving his protestation, (which term he used before all his answers,) that at such time as Archbishop Warrham died, he was ambassador in Germany for the King, who sent for him thereupon home; and having intelligence by some of his friends (who were near about the King) how he meant to bestow the same bishopric upon him, and therefore counselled him in that case to make haste home, he feeling in himself a great inability to such a promotion, and very sorry to leave his study, and especially considering by what means he must have it, which was clean against his conscience, which he could not utter without great peril and danger, devised an excuse to the King of matter of great importance, for the which his longer abode there should be most necessary; thinking by that means, in his absence, that the King would have bestowed it upon some other; and so remained there, by that device, one half year after the King had written for him to come home. But after that no such matter fell out, as he seemed to make suspicion of, the King sent for him again. Who,

<sup>1</sup> [See vol. i. Letters ccxcix. ccc.]



after his return, understanding still the Archbishopric to be reserved for him, made means by divers of his best friends to shift it off, desiring rather some smaller living, that he might more quietly follow his book.

To be brief, when the King himself spake with him, declaring, that his full intention, for his service sake, and for the good opinion he conceived of him, was to bestow that dignity upon him, after long disabling of himself, perceiving he could by no persuasions alter the King's determination, he brake frankly his conscience with him, most humbly craving first his Grace's pardon for that he should declare unto his Highness. Which obtained, he declared, that if he accepted the office, then he must receive it at the Pope's hand, which he neither would nor could do; for that his Highness was only the supreme governor of this Church of England, as well in causes ecclesiastical as temporal; and that the full right and donation of all manner of bishoprics and benefices, as well as of any other temporal dignities and promotions, appertained to his Grace, and not to any other foreign authority, whatsoever it was; and therefore if he might in that vocation serve God, him, and his country, seeing it was his pleasure so to have it, he would accept it and receive it of his Majesty, and of none other stranger, who had no authority within this realm, neither in any such gift, nor in any other thing. Whereat the King, said he, staying a while and musing, asked me, how I was able to prove it. At which time I alleged many texts out of the Scriptures, and the Fathers also, approving the supreme and highest authority of kings in their realms and dominions, disclosing therewithal the intolerable usurpation of the Pope of Rome.

Afterwards it pleased his Highness, quoth the Archbishop, many and sundry times to talk with me of it; and perceiving that I could not be brought to acknowledge the authority of the Bishop of Rome, the King himself called Doctor Oliver and other civil lawyers, and devised with them how he might bestow it upon me, enforcing me nothing against my conscience. Who thereupon informed

Dr. Cranmer denied that he took the Archbishopric at the Pope's hands. Cranmer's answer to King Henry, refusing to be Archbishop. First breaking of the matter of the Pope's supremacy to King Henry.

Cranmer sworn to the Pope under protestation. Cranmer, in swearing to the Pope, did nothing without advice of the

best learned in this realm.

him, that I might do it by the way of protestation ; and so one to be sent to Rome, who might take the oath, and do every thing in my name. Which when I understood, I said he should do it *super animam suam* : and I indeed *bona fide* made my protestation, that I did not acknowledge his authority any further then as it agreed with the express word of God, and that it might be lawful for me at all times to speak against him, and to impugn his errors, when time and occasion should serve me. And this my protestation did I cause to be enrolled, and there I think it remaineth.

[<sup>m</sup> Then both the Doctors confessed it to be true that his protestation was enrolled, but said it was a mere fraud of him. Then the Bp. Cranmer asked them what he could do more in the case, who thereunto made him no answer at all. Many marvelled at this declaration of his, that so long ago, in so perilous a time, he had so sincerely proceeded ; and that even then, when he most might have advanced himself to honour and rule, which things chiefly men desire in this world, he chose rather to venture the loss of his life and all this glorious pomp, than to do any thing, for ambition sake, that might once spot and distain his conscience. They charged him farther, that he had conspired with the Duke of Northumberland for the disinheriting of the Queen. Whereunto he made answer as is contained in his letter written to the Queen <sup>n</sup>.]

They objected to him also that he was married ; which he confessed. Whereupon Doctor Martin said, that his children were bondmen to the See of Canterbury. At which saying the Archbishop smiled, and asked him, if a priest at his benefice kept a concubine, and had by her bastards, whether they were bondmen to the benefice or no ; saying, I trust you will make my children's causes no worse.

The Archbishop answereth for his wife and children.

After this, Doctor Martin demanded of him who was

<sup>m</sup> [This paragraph has been restored to its place from the first edition of Foxe.]

<sup>n</sup> [See vol. i. Letter ccxcv.]

supreme head of the Church of England<sup>n</sup>? Marry, quoth my lord of Canterbury, Christ is head of this member, as he is of the whole body of the universal Church. Why, quoth Doctor Martin, you made King Henry the Eighth supreme head of the Church. Yea, said the Archbishop, of all the people of England, as well ecclesiastical as temporal. And not of the Church? said Martin. No, said he, for Christ is only head of his Church, and of the faith and religion of the same. The King is head and governor of his people, which are the visible Church. What! quoth Martin, you never durst tell the King so. Yes, that I durst, quoth he, and did: in the publication of his style, wherein he was named supreme head of the Church, there was never other thing meant.

A number of other fond and foolish objections were made, with repetition whereof I thought not to trouble the reader.

<sup>n</sup> Because there was offence taken at this word supreme "head," it was declared in the Queen's style to be supreme "governor."

[*Appeal at his Degradation.*]

Foxe, *Acts, Doctor Thurlby and Doctor Boner coming with a new Commission to sit upon the Archbishop, the 14th day of February.*  
 &c. vol. iii. p. 662.

A new Commission sent down from Rome against the Archbishop. The letter or sentence definitive<sup>a</sup> of the Pope was dated about the first day of January, and was delivered here in England about the midst of February. Upon the receipt of which letters, another session was appointed for the Archbishop to appear the fourteenth day of February before certain Commissioners directed down by the Queen, the chief whereof was the Bishop of Ely, Dr. Thurlby. . . .

Dr. Thurlby and Dr. Boner, Commissioners. With the said Doctor Thurlby, Bishop of Ely, was also assigned in the same Commission Doctor Boner, Bishop of London; which two coming to Oxford upon St. Valentine's day, as the Pope's Delegates, with a new Commission from Rome, by the virtue thereof commanded the Archbishop aforesaid to come before them, in the choir of Christ Church, before the high altar; where they sitting, according to their manner, in their *pontificalibus*, first began, as the fashion is, to read their Commission; wherein was contained, how that in the Court of Rome all things being indifferently examined, both the articles laid to his charge, with the answers made unto them; and witnesses examined on both parts, and counsel heard, as well on the King and Queen's behalf, his accusers, as on the behalf of Thomas Cranmer, the party guilty; so that he wanted nothing ap-

<sup>a</sup> [Cranmer received a citation on the 7th of September, 1555, to appear at Rome within eighty days. Such appearance was of course impossible, as he was closely imprisoned at Oxford. But the cause proceeded, as if his absence had been voluntary. Being pronounced contumacious, he was sentenced by the Pope, to be degraded and delivered over to the secular magistrate. This is the definitive sentence of which Foxe speaks. It may be seen at length in his *Acts and Monuments*, vol. iii. p. 997.]

pertaining to his necessary defence, &c. Which foresaid Commission, as it was in reading, Oh, Lord, said the Archbishop, what lies be these, that I, being continually in prison, and never could be suffered to have counsel or advocate at home, should produce witness and appoint my counsel at Rome ! God must needs punish this open and shameless lying. They read on the Commission which came from the Pope, *plenitudine potestatis*, supplying all manner of defects in law or process, committed in dealing with the Archbishop, and giving them full authority to proceed to deprivation and degradation of him, and so upon excommunication to deliver him up to the secular power, *omni appellatione remota*.

The Pope's Commission grounded upon lies.

When the Commission was read thus, they, proceeding thereupon to his degradation, first clothed and disguised him, putting on him a surplice, and then an albe; after that, the vestment of a subdeacon, and every other furniture, as a priest ready to mass.

The order of the Archbishop's degradation.

When they had apparelled him so far, What, said he, I think I shall say mass. Yea, said Cosins, one of Boner's chaplains, my lord, I trust to see you say mass for all this. Do you so? quoth he, that shall you never see, nor will I ever do it.

Then they invested him in all manner of robes of a bishop and archbishop, as he is at his installing, saving that as every thing then is most rich and costly, so every thing in this of canvas and old clouts, with a mitre and a pall of the same suit done upon him in mockery, and then the crosier staff was put in his hand.

This done after the Pope's pontifical form and manner, Boner, who by the space of many years had borne, as it seemed, no great good will towards him<sup>b</sup>, and now rejoiced

<sup>b</sup> [See an account of Boner's insolent behaviour in 1549 before Cranmer and other Commissioners, in Foxe, *Acts*, &c. vol. ii. p. 675, &c. On which occasion, "the Archbishop, seeing his inordinate and intolerable contempt towards them, charged him very sharply, saying, 'My lord of London, if I had sitten here only as Archbishop of "Canterbury, it had been your part to have used yourself more "lowly, obediently, and reverently towards me than you have; but

to see this day, wherein he might triumph over him, and take his pleasure at full, began to stretch out his eloquence, making his oration to the assembly after this manner of sort:

**Bp. Boner's eloquent oration against the Archbishop Cranmer.** This is the man that hath ever despised the Pope's holiness, and now is to be judged by him. This is the man who hath pulled down so many churches, and now is come to be judged in a church. This is the man that contemned the blessed sacrament of the altar, and now is come to be condemned before that blessed sacrament hanging over the altar. This is the man that, like Lucifer, sat in the place of Christ upon an altar to judge other, and now is come before an altar to be judged himself.

**Boner taken with an untruth.** Whereunto the Archbishop, interrupting him, said, that in that he belied him, as he did in many other things: for that which he would now seem to charge him withal, was his own fault, if it was any, and none of his. For the thing you mean was in Paul's Church, said he, where I came to sit in commission; and there was a scaffold prepared for me and others, by you and your officers, and whether there were any altar under it, or not, I could not perceive it, nor once suspected it; wherefore you do wittingly evil to charge me with it.

**Unmannerliness of Bp. Boner to his brother in time of adversity.** But Boner went on still in his rhetorical repetition, lying and railing against the Archbishop, beginning every sentence with "This is the man, this is the man," till at length there was never a man but was weary of the unman-

"seeing that I with my colleagues sit here now as delegates from the King's Majesty, I must tell you plain, you have behaved yourself too much inordinately. For at every time that we have sitten in commission, you have used such unseemly fashions, without all reverence and obedience, giving taunts and checks as well unto us with divers of the servants and chaplains, as also unto certain of the ancientest that be here, calling them fools and daws, with such like, as that you have given to the multitude an intolerable example of disobedience. And I insure you, my lord, there is you and one other bishop, whom I could name, that have used yourselves so contemptuously and disobediently, as the like, I think, hath not before been heard of or seen; whereby ye have done much harm." Foxe, *Acts, &c.* vol. ii. p. 688.]

<sup>c</sup> ["Dog eloquence" is the phrase which Foxe applies to Boner's abuse in his first edition, p. 1491.]

nerly usage of him in that time and place; insomuch that the Bishop of Ely aforesaid divers times pulled him by the sleeve to make an end, and said to him afterward, when they went to dinner, that he had broken promise with him; for he had entreated him earnestly to use him with reverence.

After all this done and finished, they began then to bustle toward his degrading, and first to take from him his crosier staff out of his hands, which he held fast, and refused to deliver, and withal, imitating the example of Martin Luther<sup>d</sup>, pulled an appeal out of his left sleeve, under the wrist, which he there and then delivered unto them, saying, I appeal to the next General Council; and herein I have comprehended my cause and form of it, which I desire may be admitted; and prayed divers of the standers-by, by name, to be witnesses. . . .

Archbishop  
Cranmer  
appealeth  
from the  
Pope to a  
General  
Council.

*\*The tenor of the Appeal of the Archbishop of Canterbury  
from the Pope to the next General Council.*

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

First, my plain protestation made, that I intend to speak nothing against one holy, catholic, and apostolical Church, or the authority thereof, (the which authority I have in great reverence, and to whom my mind is in all things to obey;) and if any thing peradventure, either by slipperiness of tongue, or by indignation of abuses, or else by the provocation of mine adversaries, be spoken or done otherwise than well, or not with such reverence as becometh me, I am most ready to amend it.

Although the Bishop of Rome (whom they call Pope)

Challenge  
or appeal of  
the Arch-  
bishop from  
the Pope to  
a General  
Council.

<sup>d</sup> [Luther first appealed from Cardinal Caietan, the Pope's Delegate, to the Pope himself; and afterwards from the Pope to a General Council. Sleidan, *De Statu Relig.* lib. i. and ii.]

<sup>e</sup> [Cranmer was probably assisted by a lawyer in drawing up this Appeal. See the last Letter in vol. i.]

The Pope  
not unsin-  
nable.

The Pope  
hath no  
power to  
destruc-  
tion, but to  
edify.

Remedy of  
appealing  
standeth  
with the  
law of God  
and nature.

The infe-  
rior cannot  
forbid to  
appeal to  
the supe-  
rior.

A General  
Council is  
superior to  
the Pope.

beareth the room of Christ in earth, and hath authority of God, yet by that power or authority he is not become unsinnable, neither hath he received that power to destroy, but to edify the congregation. Therefore, if he shall command any thing that is not right to be done, he ought to take it patiently and in good part, in case he be not therein obeyed. And he must not be obeyed, if he command any thing against the precepts of God: no, rather he may lawfully be resisted, even as Paul withstood Peter. And if he, being aided by help of princes, deceived perchance by false suggestion, or with evil counsel, cannot be resisted, but the remedies of withstanding him be taken away, there is nevertheless one remedy of appealing, (which no prince can take away,) uttered by the very law of nature; forsomuch as it is a certain defence, which is meet for every body, by the law of God, of nature, and of man.

And whereas the laws do permit a man to appeal, not only from the griefs and injuries done, but also from such as shall be done hereafter, or threatened to be done, inso-much that the inferior cannot make laws of not appealing to a superior power; and since it is openly enough confessed, that a holy General Council, lawfully gathered together in the Holy Ghost, and representing the holy catholic Church, is above the Pope, especially in matters concerning faith; that he cannot make decrees that men shall not appeal from him to a General Council; therefore I, Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, or in time past ruler of the metropolitical Church of Canterbury, Doctor in Divinity, do say and publish before you, the public Notary and witnesses here present, with mind and intent to challenge and appeal from the persons and griefs underneath written, and to proffer myself in place and time convenient and meet, to prove the articles that follow. And I openly confess, that I would lawfully have published them before this day, if I might have had either liberty to come abroad myself, or license of a notary and witnesses. But further then I am able to do, I know well is not required of the laws.



1. <sup>f</sup>First, I say and publish, that James, by the mercy <sup>The first</sup> of God priest, called Cardinal of the Pit, and of the title of <sup>cause why</sup> our Lady in the way of the Church of Rome, Judge and <sup>he doth ap-</sup> Commissary specially deputed of our most holy lord the <sup>peal.</sup> Pope, (as he affirmed,) caused me to be cited to Rome, <sup>The Arch-</sup> there to appear fourscore days after the citation served on <sup>bishop cited</sup> me, to make answer to certain articles touching the peril of <sup>to appear</sup> my state and life: and whereas I was kept in prison with <sup>at Rome,</sup> most strait ward, so that I could in no wise be suffered <sup>when he</sup> to go to Rome, nor to come out of prison; (and in so griev- <sup>was fast in</sup> ous causes concerning state and life, no man is bound to <sup>prison that</sup> send a proctor; and though I would never so fain send my <sup>he could</sup> proctor, yet by reason of poverty I am not able; for all <sup>not come.</sup> that ever I had, wherewith I should bear my proctor's costs and charges, is quite taken from me;) nevertheless the most <sup>Note with</sup> reverend Cardinal aforesaid doth sore threaten me, that whe- <sup>what justice</sup> ther I shall appear or not, he will nevertheless yet proceed <sup>and sin-</sup> in judgment against me. Wherein I feel myself so grieved, <sup>cerity this</sup> that nothing can be imagined more mischievous or further <sup>catholic</sup> <sup>Church</sup> <sup>doth pro-</sup> <sup>ceed.</sup> from reason.

2. Secondly, the reverend father James Brooks, by the <sup>The second</sup> mercy of God Bishop of Gloucester, Judge and Under- <sup>cause.</sup> deputy, as he affirmed, of the most reverend Cardinal, caused me to be cited at Oxford, (where I was then kept in prison,) to answer to certain articles concerning the danger of my state and life. And when I, being unlearned and <sup>The Arch-</sup> ignorant in the laws, desired counsel of the learned in the <sup>bishop de-</sup> law, that thing was most unrighteously denied me, contrary <sup>denied to have</sup> to the equity of all laws both of God and man. Wherein <sup>counsel of</sup> again I feel me most wrongfully grieved. <sup>the law.</sup>

3. And when I refused the said Bishop of Gloucester to <sup>The third</sup> be my judge, for most just causes, which I then declared, <sup>cause.</sup> he nevertheless went on still, and made process against me, contrary to the rule of the laws of appealing, which say, <sup>The papists</sup> "A judge that is refused ought not to proceed in the cause, <sup>proceed</sup> "but to leave off." And when he had required of me an- <sup>contrary to</sup> <sup>law.</sup> swers to certain articles, I refused to make him any an-

<sup>f</sup> [See the proceedings before Brokes, p. 79.]

swer: I said I would yet gladly make answer to the most renowned King's and Queen's Deputies or Attornies then present, with this condition notwithstanding, that mine answer should be extrajudicial, and that was permitted me. And with this my protestation made and admitted, I made answer: but mine answer was sudden and unprovided for; and therefore I desired to have a copy of mine answers, that I might put to, take away, change, and amend them; and this was also permitted me. Nevertheless, contrary to his promise made unto me, no respect had to my protestation, nor license given to amend mine answer, the said reverend father, Bishop of Gloucester, as I hear, commanded mine answers to be inacted contrary to the equity of the law. In which thing again I feel me much grieved.

The papists  
contrary to  
their pro-  
mise.

The fourth  
cause.

Causes  
moving the  
Archbishop  
why he  
could not  
admit the  
Pope's au-  
thority.  
The Pope's  
authority  
cannot be  
admitted in  
this realm  
without  
perjury.

4. Furthermore, I could not, for many causes, admit the Bishop of Rome's usurped authority in this realm, nor consent to it: first, my solemn oath letting me, which I made in the time of King Henry the Eighth, of most famous memory, according to the laws of England: secondly, because I knew the authority of the Bishop of Rome, which he usurpeth, to be against the crown, customs, and laws of this realm of England, insomuch that neither the King can be crowned in this realm without the most grievous crime of perjury, nor may bishops enjoy their bishoprics, nor judgments to be used according to the laws and customs of this realm, except by the Bishop of Rome's authority be accursed both the King and Queen, the judges, writers, and executors of the laws and customs, with all that consent to them: finally, the whole realm shall be accursed.

The fifth  
cause.  
Inconve-  
nience to  
this realm  
in receiving  
the Pope's  
authority.

5. Moreover, that heinous and usurped authority of the Bishop of Rome, through reservations of the bishoprics, provisions, annuities, dispensations, pardons, appellations, bulls, and other cursed merchandise of Rome, was wont exceedingly to spoil and consume the riches and substance of this realm; all which things should follow again by recognising and receiving of that usurped authority, unto the unmeasurable loss of this realm.

6. Finally, it is most evident by that usurped authority,

not only the Crown of England to be under yoke, the laws and customs of this realm to be thrown down and trodden under foot; but also the most holy decrees of Councils, together with the precepts both of the Gospel and of God.

When in times past, the Sun of Righteousness being risen in the world, Christian religion by the preaching of the Apostles began to be spread very far abroad and to flourish, inasmuch that their sound went out into all the world; innumerable people, which walked in darkness, saw a great light; God's glory, every where published, did flourish; the only care and care of the ministers of the Church was purely and sincerely to preach Christ; the people, to embrace and follow Christ's doctrine. Then the Church of Rome, as it were lady of the world, both was, and also was counted worthily, the mother of other Churches; forasmuch as then she first begat to Christ, nourished with the food of pure doctrine, did help them with their riches, succoured the oppressed, and was a sanctuary for the miserable; she rejoiced with them that rejoiced, and wept with them that wept. Then, by the examples of the bishops of Rome, riches were despised, worldly glory and pomp was trodden under foot, pleasures and riot nothing regarded. Then this frail and uncertain life, being full of all miseries, was laughed to scorn; whiles, through the example of Romish martyrs, men did every where press forward to the life to come. But afterward, when the ungraciousness of damnable ambition, never satisfied avarice, and the horrible enormity of vices, had corrupted and taken the See of Rome; there followed every where almost the deformities of all Churches, growing out of kind into the manners of the Church their mother, leaving their former innocency and purity, and slipping into foul and heinous usages.

For the foresaid and many other griefs and abuses, (which I intend to prove, and do proffer myself in time convenient to prove hereafter,) since reformation of the above-mentioned abuses is not to be looked for of the Bishop of Rome, neither can I hope, by reason of his wicked abuses and usurped authority, to have him an equal judge in his own

The sixth cause.

The primitive state of the Church of Rome sincere and pure.

The Church of Rome, how and where it began to alter.

Deformities of the Church of Rome infecting all other Churches.

The Bishop  
of Rome no  
equal judge  
in his own  
cause.

cause; therefore I do challenge and appeal in these writings from the Pope, having no good counsel, and from the above-named pretences, commissions, and judges; from their citations, processes, and from all other things that have or shall follow thereupon, and from every one of them; and from all their sentences, censures, pains, and punishments of cursing, suspension, and interdicting; and from all others whatsoever their denouncings and declarations, as they pretend, of schism, of heresy, adultery, deprivation, degrading, by them or by any of them, in any manner wise attempted, done, and set forward, to be attempted, to be done, and to be set forward hereafter, (saving always their honours and reverences,) as unequal and unrighteous, most tyrannical and violent; and from every grief to come, which shall happen to me, as well for myself as for all and every one that cleaveth to me, or will hereafter be on my side—unto a free General Council, that shall hereafter lawfully be, and in a sure place; to the which place I, or a proctor deputed by me, may freely and with safety come; and to him or them, to whom a man may by the law, privilege, custom, or otherwise challenge and appeal.

Appella-  
tion from  
the Pope to  
a General  
Council.

And I desire the first, the second, and the third time, instantly, more instantly, and most instantly, that I may have messengers<sup>1</sup>, if there be any man that will and can give me them. And I make open promise of prosecuting this mine appellation, by the way of disannulling, abuse, inequality, and unrighteousness, or otherwise as I shall be better able; choice and liberty reserved to me, to put to, diminish, change, correct, and interpret my sayings, and to reform all things after a better fashion; saving always to me every other benefit of the law, and to them that either be or will be on my part.

Defence of  
his doc-  
trine.

And touching my doctrine of the sacrament, and other my doctrine, of what kind soever it be, I protest that it was never my mind to write, speak, or understand any thing contrary to the most holy word of God, or else against the

<sup>1</sup> Letters of protection and defence.

holy catholic Church of Christ; but purely and simply to imitate and teach those things only, which I had learned of the sacred Scripture, and of the holy catholic Church of Christ from the beginning, and also according to the exposition of the most holy and learned Fathers and martyrs of the Church.

And if any thing hath peradventure chanced otherwise then I thought, I may err, but heretic I cannot be, foras-  
 much as I am ready in all things to follow the judgment of the most sacred word of God and of the holy catholic Church, desiring none other thing than meekly and gently to be taught, if any where (which God forbid) I have swerved from the truth.

The Arch-  
 bishop no  
 heretic,  
 and why.

And I protest and openly confess, that in all my doctrine and preaching, both of the sacrament and of other my doctrine, whatsoever it be, not only I mean and judge those things as the catholic Church and the most holy Fathers of old, with one accord, have meant and judged, but also I would gladly use the same words that they used, and not use any other words, but to set my hand to all and singular their speeches, phrases, ways, and forms of speech, which they do use in their treatises upon the sacrament, and to keep still their interpretation. But in this thing I only am  
 accused for an heretic, because I allow not the doctrine lately brought in of the sacrament, and because I consent not to words not accustomed in Scripture, and unknown to the ancient Fathers, but newly invented and brought in by men, and belonging to the destruction of souls, and overthrowing of the pure and old religion. Yeven, &c.

He protest-  
 eth himself  
 to be ca-  
 tholic.

New terms  
 of the sa-  
 crament  
 brought in  
 by the Pope,  
 unknown  
 to the Scrip-  
 ture and old  
 doctors.

This appeal being put up to the Bishop of Ely, he said, My lord, our Commission is to proceed against you *omni appellatione remota*, and therefore we cannot admit it.

Why, quoth he, then you do me the more wrong; for my case is not as every private man's case. The matter is between the Pope and me *immediatè*, and none otherwise; and I think no man ought to be a judge in his own cause.

Well, quoth Ely, if it may be admitted, it shall; and so

Talk between Dr. Thurlby and the Archbishop about the appeal.

Thurlby weeping for the Archbishop.

received it of him. And then began he to persuade earnestly with the Archbishop to consider his state, and to weigh it well, while there was time to do him good, promising to become a suitor to the King and Queen for him; and so protested his great love and friendship that had been between them, heartily weeping, so that for a time he could not go on with his tale. After, going forward, he earnestly affirmed, that if it had not been the King and Queen's commandment, whom he could not deny, else no worldly commodity should have made him to have done it; concluding that to be one of the sorrowfulest things that ever happened unto him. The Archbishop gently, seeming to comfort him, said, he was very well content withal: and so proceeded they to his degradation<sup>k</sup>. . . .

When they came to take off his pall, (which is a solemn vesture of an archbishop,) then said he, Which of you hath a pall, to take off my pall? which imported as much as they, being his inferiors, could not degrade him. Whereunto one of them said, in that they were but bishops, they were his inferiors, and not competent judges; but being the Pope's Delegates they might take his pall; and so they did: and so proceeding took every thing in order from him, as it was put on. Then a barber clipped his hair round about, and the Bishop scraped the tops of his fingers, where he had been anointed; wherein Bishop Boner behaved himself as roughly and unmannerly as the other Bishop was to him soft and gentle. Whiles they were thus doing, All this, quoth the Archbishop, needed not; I had myself done with this gear long ago. Last of all they stripped him out of his gown into his jacket, and put upon him a poor yeoman bedel's gown, full bare and nearly worn, and as evil-favouredly made as one might lightly see; and a townsman's cap on his head; and so delivered him to the secular power.

After this pageant of degradation, and all was finished, then spake Lord Boner, saying to him, Now are you no lord any more: and so, whensoever he spake to the people

<sup>k</sup> [See ed. 1563. p. 1493.]

of him, (as he was continually barking against him,) ever Lord Boner used this term, "This gentleman here," &c. unlordeth the Archbishop.

And thus, with great compassion and pity of every man, in this evil-favoured gown was he carried to prison. It is happy this Bishop Whom there followed a gentleman of Gloucestershire, with had so much manners the Archbishop's own gown, who standing by, and being yet to call him gentleman thought to be toward one of the bishops, had it delivered unto him; who by the way talking with him, said, the Bishop of Ely protested his friendship with tears. Yet, said he, he might have used a great deal more friendship towards me, and never have been the worse thought on; for I have well deserved it. And going into the prison up with him, asked him if he would drink. Who answered him, saying, if he had a piece of salt fish, that he had better will to eat; for he had been that day somewhat troubled with this matter, and had eaten little; but now that it is past, my heart, said he, is well quieted. Whereupon the gentleman said, he would give him money with all his heart; for he was able to do it. But he being one toward the law, and fearing Master Farmer's case, durst therefore give him nothing, but gave money to the bailiffs that stood by, and said, that if they were good men, they would bestow it on him, for my lord of Canterbury had not one penny in his purse to help him, and so left him; my lord bidding him earnestly farewell, commending himself to his prayers and all his friends. That night this gentleman was stayed by Boner and Ely, for giving him this money; and but for the help of friends, he had been sent up to the Council. Such was the cruelty and iniquity of the time, that men could not do good without punishment<sup>1</sup>. Courtesy showed to the Archbishop by a gentleman. This Farmer had lost all his lands for receiving a priest in the Tower in King Henry's time. The gentleman in danger for relieving the Archbishop.

<sup>1</sup> [For the recantations which Cranmer is said to have made between his degradation and his death, see Appendix. Respecting the credit which is due to them, see Whiston, *Inquiry into the Evidence of Abp. Cranmer's Recantation*, 1736; Lingard, *Hist. of England*, 8vo. vol. viii. p. 273; Todd, *Life of Cranmer*, vol. ii; Soames, *Hist. of Ref.* vol. iv. The last-mentioned writer in particular has examined the subject with great diligence; yet the remark of Dr. Wordsworth has not ceased to be applicable: "Notwithstanding all the researches of the historians, "this part of Cranmer's story is still involved in great obscurity and "uncertainty." *Eccles. Biogr.* vol. iii. p. 591. note.]

[*The Prayer, Exhortation, and Confession of Dr. Cranmer before his death*<sup>m</sup>.]

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Foxe, *Acts*,  
&c. vol. iii.  
p. 667.

[On Saturday the 21st of March, 1556,] about nine of the clock, the Lord Williams, Sir Thomas Bridges, Sir John Browne, and the other justices, with certain other noblemen, that were sent of the Queen's Council, came to Oxford with a great train of waiting men. Also of the other multitude on every side (as is wont in such a matter) was made a great concourse, and greater expectation. For, first of all, they that were of the Pope's side were in great hope that day to hear something of Cranmer that should stablish the vanity of their opinion: the other part, which were endowed with a better mind, could not yet doubt, that he, which by continual study and labour for so many years, had set forth the doctrine of the Gospel, either would or could now in the last act of his life forsake his part. Briefly, as every man's will inclined, either to this part or to that, so, according to the diversity of their desires, every man wished and hoped for. And yet, because in an uncertain thing the certainty could be known of none what would be the end, all their minds were hanging between hope and doubt. So that the greater the expectation was in so doubtful a matter, the more was the multitude that was gathered thither to hear and behold.

Dr. Cranmer  
brought to  
Dr. Cole's  
sermon.

In this so great frequency and expectation Cranmer at the length cometh from Bocardo prison unto Saint Mary's Church, (because it was a foul and rainy day,) the chief

<sup>m</sup> [This concluding scene of Cranmer's life is taken from Foxe, whose report is the most full. The other authorities which might have been followed, are two manuscripts in the British Museum, (Titus A. xxiv. fol. 87. and Harl. MSS. 422. fol. 50.) But both of them seem to have been used by Foxe, and the latter, which is the most valuable, and which has been printed by Strype, belonged to him. See Strype, *Cranm.* p. 384.]



Church in the University, in this order. The Mayor went before; next him the Aldermen in their place and degree; after them was Cranmer brought between two friars, which, mumbling to and fro certain Psalms in the streets, answered one another until they came to the Church door, and there they began the song of Simeon, *Nunc dimittis*; and entering into the Church, the Psalm-saying friars brought him to his standing, and there left him. There was a stage set over against the pulpit, of a mean height from the ground, where Cranmer had his standing, waiting until Cole made him ready to his sermon.

Cranmer  
set up upon  
a stage.

The lamentable case and sight of that man gave a sorrowful spectacle to all Christian eyes that beheld him. He that late was Archbishop, Metropolitan, and Primate of England, and the King's Privy Chancellor, being now in a bare and ragged gown, and ill-favouredly clothed, with an old square cap, exposed to the contempt of all men, did admonish men, not only of his own calamity, but also of their state and fortune. For who would not pity his case and bewail his fortune, and might not fear his own chance, to see such a prelate, so grave a counsellor, and of so long continued honour, after so many dignities, in his old years to be deprived of his estate, adjudged to die, and in so painful a death to end his life, and now presently from such fresh ornaments to descend to such vile and ragged apparel.

In this habit, when he had stood a good space upon the stage, turning to a pillar near adjoining thereunto, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and prayed unto God once or twice, till at the length Doctor Cole coming into the pulpit, and beginning his sermon, entered first into mention of Tobias and Zachary. Whom after he had praised, in the beginning of his sermon, for their perseverance in the true worshipping of God, he then divided his whole sermon into three parts, according to the solemn custom of the schools; intending to speak, first, of the mercy of God; secondly, of his justice to be showed; and, last of all, how the prince's secrets are not to be opened. And proceeding a little from the beginning, he took occasion by and by to

Dr. Cole's  
sermon di-  
vided into  
three parts.

turn his tale to Cranmer, and with many hot words reproved him, that, once he being endued with the savour and feeling of wholesome and catholic doctrine, fell into the contrary opinion of pernicious error; which he had not only defended by writings, and all his power, but also allured other men to do the like, with great liberality of gifts; as it were, appointing rewards for error; and after he had allured them, by all means did cherish them.

The sum  
and effect of  
Dr. Cole's  
sermon at  
Oxford.

It were too long to repeat all things, that in long order were pronounced. The sum of his tripartite declamation was, that he said God's mercy was so tempered with his justice, that he did not altogether require punishment according to the merits of offenders, nor yet sometimes suffered the same altogether to go unpunished, yea, though they had repented. As in David, who when he was bidden choose of three kinds of punishments which he would, and he had chosen pestilence for three days, the Lord forgave him half the time, but did not release all: and that the same thing came to pass in him also, to whom, although pardon and reconciliation was due, according to the Canons, seeing he repented him of his errors, yet there were causes, why the Queen and the Council at this time judged him to death<sup>a</sup>: of which, lest he should marvel too much, he should hear some.

First, that, being a traitor, he had dissolved the lawful matrimony between the King her father, and mother; besides the driving out the Pope's authority, while he was Metropolitan.

Secondly, that he had been an heretic<sup>b</sup>, from whom, as from an author and only fountain, all heretical doctrine and schismatical opinions, that so many years have prevailed in England, did first rise and spring; of which he had not been a secret favourer only, but also a most earnest defender, even to the end of his life, sowing them abroad by

<sup>a</sup> If Cole gave this judgment upon Cranmer, when he had repented, what judgment is then to be given of Cole, which always perjured in error, and never yet repented?

<sup>b</sup> If all heretics in England should be burned, where should Dr. Cole have been ere now?

writings and arguments, privately and openly, not without great ruin and decay of the catholic Church.

And further, it seemed meet, according to the law of equality, that as the death of the Duke of Northumberland of late made even with Thomas More, Chancellor, that died for the Church, so there should be one that should make even with Fisher of Rochester; and because that Ridley, Hooper, Ferrar, were not able to make even with that man, it seemed that Cranmer should be joined to them, to fill up their part of equality.

Besides these, there were other just and weighty causes, which seemed to the Queen and Council, which was not meet at that time to be opened to the common people.

After this, turning his tale to the hearers, he bade all men beware, by this man's example, that among men nothing is so high, that can promise itself safety on the earth, and that God's vengeance is equally stretched against all men, and spareth none; therefore they should beware and learn to fear their prince. And seeing the Queen's Majesty would not spare so notable a man as this, much less in the like cause she would spare other men; that no man should think to make thereby any defence of his error, either in riches or any kind of authority, they had now an example to teach them all; by whose calamity every man might consider his own fortune; who from the top of dignity, none being more honourable than he in the whole realm, and next the King, was fallen into so great misery, as they might now see, being a man of so high degree, sometime one of the chiefest prelates in the Church, and an Archbishop, the chief of the Council, the second person in the realm of long time, a man thought in greatest assurance, having a king on his side, notwithstanding all his authority and defence, to be debased from high estate to a low degree, of a counsellor to become a caitiff, and to be set in so wretched a state, that the poorest wretch would not change condition with him; briefly, so heaped with misery on all sides, that neither was left in him any hope of better fortune, nor place for worse.

No state in this earth so high nor so sure, but it may fall.

Dr. Cole  
encourag-  
eth the  
Archbishop  
to take his  
death pa-  
tiently.

The latter part of his sermon he converted to the Arch-  
bishop, whom he comforted and encouraged to take his  
death well, by many places of Scripture; as with these and  
such like: bidding him not to mistrust but he should incon-  
tinently receive that the thief did, to whom Christ said,  
*Hodie mecum eris in paradiso*; that is, *This day thou  
shalt be with me in paradise*: and out of St. Paul he armed  
him against the terror of the fire, by this, *Dominus fidelis  
est, non sinet vos tentari ultra quam ferre potestis*; that is,  
*The Lord is faithful, which will not suffer you to be tempted  
above your strength*; by the example of the three children,  
to whom God made the flame to seem like a pleasant dew;  
adding also the rejoicing of St. Andrew in his cross, the  
patience of St. Laurence on the fire; assuring him, that  
God, if he called on him, and to such as die in his faith,  
either would abate the fury of the flame, or give him strength  
to abide it.

1 Cor. x.

Dr. Cole  
rejoiceth in  
the Arch-  
bishop's  
conversion;  
but that  
rejoicing  
lasted not  
long.

He glorified God much in his conversion, because it ap-  
peared to be only his work, declaring what travail and con-  
ference had been with him to convert him, and all prevailed  
not, till that it pleased God of his mercy to reclaim him,  
and call him home. In discoursing of which place, he much  
commended Cranmer, and qualified his former doings, thus  
tempering his judgment and talk of him; that all the time,  
said he, he flowed in riches and honour, he was unworthy  
of his life; and now that he might not live, he was unwor-  
thy of death. But lest he should carry with him no com-  
fort, he would diligently labour, he said; and also he did  
promise, in the name of all the priests that were present,  
that immediately after his death there should be dirges,  
masses, and funerals executed for him in all the churches  
of Oxford, for the succour of his soul.

Dirges and  
masses pro-  
mised for  
Cranmer's  
soul.

Cranmer in all this mean time, with what great grief of  
mind he stood hearing this sermon, the outward shows of  
his body and countenance did better express than any  
man can declare; one while lifting up his hands and  
eyes unto heaven, and then again for shame letting them  
down to the earth. A man might have seen the very image

and shape of perfect sorrow lively in him expressed. More then twenty several times the tears gushed out abundantly, dropping down marvellously from his fatherly face. They which were present, do testify that they never saw in any child more tears then brast out from him at that time, all the sermon while, but especially when he recited his prayer before the people. It is marvellous what commiseration and pity moved all men's hearts, that beheld so heavy a countenance and such abundance of tears in an old man of so reverend dignity.

Cole, after he had ended his sermon, called back the people, that were ready to depart, to prayers. Brethren, said he, lest any man should doubt of this man's earnest conversion and repentance, you shall hear him speak before you: and therefore, I pray you, Master Cranmer, that you will now perform that you promised not long ago; namely, that you would openly express the true and undoubted profession of your faith, that you may take away all suspicion from men, and that all men may understand that you are a catholic indeed. I will do it, said the Archbishop, and that with a good will; who by and by rising up, and putting off his cap, began to speak thus unto the people.

c I desire you, well beloved brethren in the Lord, that you will pray to God for me, to forgive me my sins, which above all men, both in number and greatness, I have committed. But, among all the rest, there is one offence which most of all at this time doth vex and trouble me, whereof in process of my talk you shall hear more in his proper place; and then, putting his hand into his bosom, he drew forth his prayer, which he recited to the people in this sense:

c [The account in the Harl. MS. is rather different: "Good people, "I had intended to desire you to pray for me; which because Mr. "Doctor hath desired, and you have done already, I thank you most "heartily for it: and now will I pray for myself, as I could best devise "for my own comfort, and say the prayer word for word as I have "here written it; and [he] read it standing, and after kneeled down "and said the Lord's Prayer, and all the people on their knees devoutly praying with him." Harl. MSS. 422.]

*The Prayer of Dr. Cranmer, Archbishop.*

Good Christian people, my dearly beloved brethren and sisters in Christ, I beseech you most heartily to pray for me to Almighty God, that he will forgive me all my sins and offences, which be many, without number, and great above measure. But yet one thing grieveth my conscience more than all the rest, whereof, God willing, I intend to speak more hereafter. But how great and how many soever my sins be, I beseech you to pray God of his mercy to pardon and forgive them all. And here, kneeling down, he said,

The prayer  
of the Arch-  
bishop  
Cranmer.

“O Father of heaven; O Son of God, Redeemer of the world; O Holy Ghost, proceeding from them both; three Persons, and one God; have mercy upon me, most wretched caitiff and miserable sinner. I have offended both heaven and earth, more grievously than any tongue can express. Whither then may I go, or whither should I flee for succour? To heaven I may be ashamed to lift up mine eyes, and in earth I find no refuge or succour. What shall I then do? Shall I despair? God forbid. O good God, thou art merciful, and refusest none that cometh unto Thee for succour. To Thee, therefore, do I run; to Thee do I humble myself; saying, O Lord God, my sins be great, but yet have mercy upon me for thy great mercy. O God the Son, this great mystery was not wrought (that God became man) for few or small offences; nor Thou didst not give thy Son unto death, O God the Father, for our little and small sins only, but for all the greatest sins of the world, so that the sinner return unto Thee with a penitent heart, as I do here at this present. Wherefore have mercy upon me, O Lord, whose property is always to have mercy; for although my sins be great, yet thy mercy is greater. And I crave nothing, O Lord, for mine own merits, but for thy name’s sake, that it may be glorified thereby, and

\* [In printing this prayer, the authority of the Harl. MS. has been preferred to that of Foxe.]

for thy dear Son, Jesus Christ's sake. And now therefore, Our Father, which art in heaven, &c.

And then he, rising, said,

<sup>f</sup> Every man, good people, desireth at the time of his death to give some good exhortation, that others may remember the same before their death, and be the better thereby: so I beseech God grant me grace, that I may speak something at this my departing, whereby God may be glorified, and you edified.

The last words or exhortation of the Archbishop to the people.

First, it is an heavy case to see that so many folk so much doat upon the love of this false world, and be so careful for it, that of the love of God, or the world to come, they seem to care very little or nothing. Therefore this shall be my first exhortation, that you set not your minds over much upon this glozing world, but upon God and upon the world to come; and to learn to know what this lesson meaneth which St. John teacheth, that *the love of this world is hatred against God*.

Exhortation to contempt of the world.

The second exhortation is, that next under God you obey your King and Queen, willingly and gladly, without murmuring or grudging: not for fear of them only, but much more for the fear of God; knowing that they be God's ministers, appointed by God to rule and govern you; and therefore whosoever resisteth them, resisteth the ordinance of God.

Exhortation to obedience.

The third exhortation is, that you love altogether like brethren and sisters. For, alas! pity it is to see what contention and hatred one Christian man beareth to another; not taking each other as brother and sister, but rather as strangers and mortal enemies. But, I pray you, learn and

Exhortation to brotherly love.

<sup>f</sup> [Strype supposes, apparently on no better ground than its being printed with the recantations by Boner, that the papists both directed Cranmer in the penning of this address, and perused it after it was penned. Dr. Lingard (on what authority does not appear) advances a step farther, asserting that Garcina, one of the Spanish friars, submitted it to his consideration, and advised him to read it at the stake. But, both in tone and style, it is so *unlike* the other papers prepared by his enemies, and so *like* his own undoubted compositions, as to warrant the belief, that though it might have been perused and approved by Garcina, it was drawn up by himself. See Todd, *Cranm.* vol. ii.]

bear well away this one lesson, To do good unto all men, as much as in you lieth, and to hurt no man, no more then you would hurt your own natural loving brother or sister. For this you may be sure of, that whosoever hateth any person, and goeth about maliciously to hinder or hurt him, surely, and without all doubt, God is not with that man, although he think himself never so much in God's favour.

Exhortation to rich men of this world, moving them to charitable alms.

The fourth exhortation shall be to them that have great substance and riches of this world, that they will well consider and weigh three sayings of the Scripture. One is of our Saviour Christ himself, who saith, Luke xviii. *It is hard for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven.* A sore saying, and yet spoken of him that knoweth the truth.

The second is of St. John, 1 John iii. whose saying is this; *He that hath the substance of this world, and seeth his brother in necessity, and shutteth up his mercy from him, how can he say that he loveth God?*

§ The third is of St. James, who speaketh to the covetous rich man after this manner: *Weep you and howl for the misery that shall come upon you: your riches do rot, your clothes be moth-eaten, your gold and silver doth canker and rust, and their rust shall bear witness against you, and consume you like fire: you gather a hoard or treasure of God's indignation against the last day.* Let them that be rich, ponder well these three sentences; for if they ever had occasion to show their charity, they have it now at this present, the poor people being so many, and victuals so dear <sup>h</sup>.

And now, forasmuch as I am come to the last end of my

§ [This text is not in the Harl. MS.]

<sup>h</sup> [Strype adds here, "For though I have been long in prison, yet I have heard of the great penury of the poor. Consider that that which is given to the poor, is given to God; whom we have not otherwise present corporally with us, but in the poor." The last sentence is also in the Harl. MS. "The scarcity at Oxford was now so great," says Wood, "that several societies, being scarce able to live, had leave from their governors to go into the country to their respective homes, to remain there till such time as bread corn was more plentiful." Wood, *Annals*, vol. ii. p. 130. in Wordsworth, *Eccles. Biogr.* vol. iii. p. 604.]



life, whereupon hangeth all my life past, and all my life to come, either to live with my master Christ for ever in joy, or else to be in pain for ever, with wicked devils in hell; and I see before mine eyes presently either heaven ready to receive me, and else hell ready to swallow me up: I shall therefore declare unto you my very faith, how I believe, without any colour of dissimulation; for now is no time to dissemble, whatsoever I have said or written in times past<sup>i</sup>.

First, I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, &c. And I believe every article of the catholic faith, every word and sentence taught by our Saviour Jesus Christ, his Apostles and Prophets, in the New and Old Testament.

The Archbishop declareth the true confession of his faith, without all colour or dissembling.

And now I come to the great thing that so much troubleth my conscience, more than any thing that ever I did or said in my whole life; and that is, the setting abroad of writings<sup>k</sup> contrary to the truth; which now here I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be; and that is, all such bills and papers which I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation; wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished therefore; for, may I come to the fire, it shall be first burned.

The Archbishop revoketh his former recantation, and repenteth the same.

<sup>i</sup> [Thus far Cranmer's Address corresponded with the expectations of his persecutors; but, instead of the disavowal of any change in his tenets which followed, it was intended that he should conclude with a declaration of the Queen's just title to the crown, and with a retraction of his books and writings on the sacrament of the altar. This retraction was afterwards published, under the authority of Boner, as if it had been really spoken; though hundreds of hearers could bear witness to the contrary. It may be read in the Appendix; where Boner's pamphlet, containing also the other recantations which Cranmer is said to have made, is reprinted entire. See Strype, *Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 237.]

<sup>k</sup> ["Writings" has been substituted here, from the Harl. MS., for Foxe's reading, "a writing;" which he may perhaps have adopted from his not being acquainted with more than one recantation. Yet he has preserved the plural in the subsequent clauses.]

The Archbishop refuseth the Pope, as Christ's enemy and Antichrist. The Archbishop standeth to his book written against Winchester.

And as for the Pope, I refuse him, as Christ's enemy and Antichrist, with all his false doctrine.

And as for the sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book against the Bishop of Winchester; the which my book teacheth so true a doctrine of the sacrament, that it shall stand at the last day before the judgment of God, where the papistical doctrine, contrary thereto, shall be ashamed to show her face.

Here the standers by were all astonied, marvelled, were amazed, did look one upon another, whose expectation he had so notably deceived. Some began to admonish him of his recantation, and to accuse him of falsehood.

The expectation of the papists deceived.

Briefly, it was a world to see the doctors beguiled of so great an hope. I think there was never cruelty more notably or better in time deluded and deceived. For it is not to be doubted, but they looked for a glorious victory and a perpetual triumph by this man's retractation.

The papists in great chafe against the Archbishop.

Who, as soon as they heard these things, began to let down their ears, to rage, fret, and fume; and so much the more, because they could not revenge their grief: for they could now no longer threaten or hurt him. For the most miserable man in the world can die but once: and whereas of necessity he must needs die that day, though the papists had been never so well pleased; now being never so much offended with him, yet could he not be twice killed of them. And so when they could do nothing else unto him, yet, lest they should say nothing, they ceased not to object unto him his falsehood and dissimulation.

Cranmer's answer to the papists.

Unto which accusation he answered, Ah, my masters, quoth he, do not you take it so. Always since I lived, hitherto, I have been a hater of falsehood, and a lover of simplicity, and never, before this time, have I dissembled: and, in saying this, all the tears that remained in his body appeared in his eyes. And when he began to speak more of the sacrament and of the papacy, some of them began to cry out, yelp, and bawl; and specially Cole cried out upon him, Stop the heretic's mouth, and take him away.

And then Cranmer, being pulled down from the stage Cranmer was led to the fire, accompanied with those friars, vexing, troubling, and threatening him most cruelly. What madness, say they, hath brought thee again into this error, by which thou wilt draw innumerable souls with thee into hell ? Cranmer led to the fire.

To whom he answered nothing, but directed all his talk to the people, saving that to one troubling him in the way he spake, and exhorted him to get him home to his study, and apply his book diligently ; saying, if he did diligently call upon God, by reading more he should get knowledge.

But the other Spanish barker, raging and foaming, was almost out of his wits, always having this in his mouth, *Non fecisti ?* ‘ Diddest thou it not ?’

But when he came to the place where the holy bishops and martyrs of God, Hugh Latimer and Ridley, were burnt before him, for the confession of the truth, kneeling down he prayed to God ; and not long tarrying in his prayers, putting off his garments to his shirt, he prepared himself to death. His shirt was made long, down to his feet. His

feet were bare. Likewise his head, when both his caps were off, was so bare, that one hair could not be seen upon it. His beard was long and thick, covering his face with marvellous gravity. Such a countenance of gravity moved the hearts both of his friends and of his enemies.

Then the Spanish friars, John and Richard, of whom mention was made before, began to exhort him and play their parts with him afresh, but with vain and lost labour. Cranmer, with steadfast purpose abiding in the profession of his doctrine, gave his hand to certain old men, and other that stood by, bidding them farewell.

And when he had thought to have done so likewise to Ely, the said Ely drew back his hand and refused, saying, it was not lawful to salute heretics, and specially such a one as falsely returned unto the opinions that he had forsworn. And if he had known before that he would have done so, he would never have used his company so familiarly ; and chid those serjeants and citizens which had not refused to give him their hands. This Ely was a priest lately made,

pulled down from the stage.

Cranmer led to the fire.

The Archbishop brought to the place of execution.

The description of his person.

Mr. Ely refuseth to give his hand to the Archbishop.

## 142 PRAYER, &c. BEFORE HIS DEATH.

and student in divinity, being then one of the Fellows of Brasen-nose.

The Archbishop tied to the stake.

Then was an iron chain tied about Cranmer; whom when they perceived to be more steadfast than that he could be moved from his sentence, they commanded the fire to be set unto him.

Cranmer putteth his right hand, which subscribed, first into the fire.

And when the wood was kindled, and the fire began to burn near him, stretching out his arm, he put his right hand into the flame, which he held so steadfast and immoveable, (saving that once with the same hand he wiped his face,) that all men might see his hand burned before his body was touched. His body did so abide the burning of the flame, with such constancy and steadfastness, that, standing always in one place, without moving his body, he seemed to move no more than the stake to which he was bound: his eyes were lifted up into heaven; and oftentimes he repeated, his unworthy right hand, so long as his voice

The last words of Cranmer at his death.

would suffer him; and using often the words of Stephen, *Lord Jesus, receive my spirit*, in the greatness of the flame he gave up the ghost.

**A**  
**CONFUTATION**  
**OF**  
**UNWRITTEN VERITIES.**

[It is stated in the title-page that this *Confutation of Unwritten Verities* was "made by Thomas Cranmer, late Archbishop of Canterbury," and "translated and set forth by E. P." Strype goes farther, and supposes that it was not only "made" by the Archbishop, but published by him in Latin in 1547. Yet it certainly was not "made" by Cranmer in its present form: for the Preface and some other parts were avowedly written by the translator. And it may be doubted, whether it was ever prepared by him for publication at all; no complete copy of it in Latin, either printed or in manuscript, having been yet discovered. The citations however, of which the work chiefly consists, are for the most part to be found in one of the Archbishop's Common-place books in the British Museum, arranged under the same heads as in the *Confutation*. And hence perhaps it may be conjectured, that, according to his usual practice, he formed a collection of authorities on the subject for his private use; that this collection fell after his death into the hands of the person designated by the letters E. P.; and that it was moulded by him, by addition, omission, and transposition, into the shape in which it now appears. Under these circumstances it cannot safely be quoted as evidence of Cranmer's tenets, and perhaps it scarcely ought to be admitted into a collection of his works. It has however been usually classed among them; and he certainly brought together most of the materials from which it was composed. It has therefore been reprinted entire; the parts which were added by the translator, as far as they can be ascertained, being distinguished by a smaller type.

Strype has ascribed to Cranmer another tract on *Unwritten Verities*, published anonymously in 1548. But he does not bring forward any evidence in support of his opinion; and as he has manifestly fallen into much confusion on this matter, his judgment is of no great weight. And it is clear that the *Confutation* here reprinted is the only work on this subject by the Archbishop, which was known to his contemporary Bale. It has therefore been considered, that there is no sufficient authority for inserting the anonymous tract, attributed to him by Strype, in the present Collection. It will be found however in the Appendix. See Tanner, *Biblioth. art.* Cranmer; Strype, *Cranmer*, pp. 160. 171. 397; *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 136. and App. AA; Bale, *Script. Brit. Catal.*; Ames, *Typ. Antiq.* vol. i. p. 583. ed. 1785. vol. iii. p. 1563. ed. 1790.]

A  
CONFUTATION  
OF  
UNWRITTEN VERITIES,  
BOTH  
BY THE HOLY SCRIPTURES  
AND  
MOST ANCIENT AUTHORS,  
AND ALSO  
PROBABLE ARGUMENTS AND PITHY REASONS ;

WITH  
Plain Answers to all, or, at the least, to the most part and strongest Arguments,  
which the Adversaries of God's Truth either have or can bring forth  
for the proof and defence of the same Unwritten Vanities,  
Verities, as they would have them called.

MADE BY  
THOMAS CRANMER,  
Late Archbishop of Canterbury, Martyr of God ;  
And burned at Oxford for the Defence of the true doctrine of our Saviour  
Christ.

TRANSLATED AND SET FORTH  
BY E. P.

[This tract has been reprinted from the first edition published by E. P. in the reign of Queen Mary. In 1582 it was attached to *A Discoverie and Batterie of the great Fort of unwritten Traditions, Done by Martin. Chemnitius in Latin, and translated into English by R. V.* London, Thos. Purfoote and Wm. Pounsenbie. It was also printed separately by Purfoote in 1583. Ames, *Typ. Ant.* Cambr. Publ. Libr. F. 3. 27.]



## THE CONTENTS<sup>a</sup>.

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**FIRST,** The Preface of the translator to his countrymen and brethren of England.

**Ch. I.** That the word of God, written and contained within the canon of the Bible, is a true, sound, perfect, and whole doctrine, containing in itself fully all things needful for our salvation.

<sup>a</sup> [A conjecture has been hazarded in a preceding note, that this *Confutation* was compiled from a collection of authorities still preserved in the British Museum. (Royal MSS. 7. B. xi. xii.) A list of the principal heads under which these authorities are arranged, is subjoined. It will assist the reader in forming a judgment on the validity of the conjecture, and will also give him some insight into Cranmer's studies on other subjects. It will be found to be more copious than the Table of Contents which is prefixed to the manuscript in the Museum, and which has been printed by Strype, (*Life of Parker*, App. N<sup>o</sup>. 23.) The additions are distinguished by brackets. The articles marked with an asterisk exist in the original Table, but are not in the same handwriting as the rest.

*“ Collectiones ex S. Scriptur. et Patribus.*

“ TABULA REPERTORIA.

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- “ 3. Scripturæ confirmantes idem, p. 16.
- “ 4. Doctores idem probantes, p. 19.
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- “ 8. Ex angelorum oraculis non licet idem facere, p. 53.
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- “ 10. Nec etiam apparitio mortuorum id ipsum satis astruit, p. 59.
- “ 11. Sed ne consuetudini hac in re fidendum est, p. 62.
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“ novi articuli fidei, p. 65.
- “ 13. Traditiones non scriptæ, p. 75.  
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“ [Baptismus parvulorum, p. 97.  
“ Baptizati ab hæreticis non sunt rebaptizandi, p. 98.]
- “ 15. Nec miracula, nec Christi professio, nec locus, nec externum  
“ aliquid, faciunt hominem sanctum aut Deo gratum, sed ob-  
“ servatio mandatorum Dei, p. 99.

Ch. II. That the writings of the old Fathers, without the written word of God, are not able to prove any doctrine in religion.

III. That General Councils have no authority to make new articles of our faith.

- " 16. Novæ doctrinæ, p. 101.
- " 17. In cæremoniis fere omnibus Judæos imitatur, p. 101.
- " 18. Osiander.
- " 19. De sacrificiis Christianorum, p. 103.
- " 20. De sacramentis, p. 115. 121.
- " 21. De caractere, p. 133.
- " 22. De baptismo, p. 147.
- " 23. De eucharistia, p. 211.
- " [Pro sacramentariis, p. 259.]
- " 24. De pœnitentia, p. 305. 327.
- " \*De confessione, p. 351.
- " 25. De satisfactione, p. 384.
- " 26. De matrimonio, p. 397.
- " 27. De ordinibus ecclesiasticis, p. 417. 454. 461.
- " [Multa fecerunt Christus et Apostoli quæ hodie apud nos non observantur, p. 474.
- " Multi sacerdotalem dignitatem consecuti sunt, sine episcoporum consecratione, p. 476.
- " Quod ordo sit sacramentum, p. 477.]
- " 28. De unctione, p. 464. 483.
- " 29. De impositione manuum, p. 470.
- " [De unctione chrismatis, p. 486.
- " De confirmatione sine unctione chrismatis, p. 502.]
- " 30. De confirmatione, p. 506.
- " 31. De extrema unctione, p. 519.
- " 32. De unctione pedum, p. 537.
- " 33. De aqua benedicta, p. 540.
- " 34. De feriis, p. 545.

*" Tomo secundo.*

- " 35. De sanctorum invocatione, p. 1.
- " [Desideria nostra sancti intelligunt, et quomodo, p. 16.]
- " 36. De imaginibus, p. 18.
- " 37. De divorum reliquiis, p. 59.
- " 38. De vera religione et superstitione, p. 67.
- " 39. Ut oremus, aut peccatorum veniam consequamur, non est ullus locus præ alio Deo acceptior; nec pro his opus est longe peregrinari, p. 71.
- " [Pro sanctorum invocatione, p. 75.]
- " 40. De religiosis, p. 119.
- " 41. De votis, p. 137.
- " 42. De virginitate et de votis castitatis, p. 141.
- " 43. De ecclesia, p. 85.
- " 44. De ecclesiis ædificandis, dedicandis, et earum ornatu, p. 85.
- " 45. De horis canonicis, p. 88.
- " 46. De oratione et cantu ecclesiastico, p. 91.
- " 47. De jejuniis, p. 101.

Ch. IV. That nothing can be proved by oracles of angels touching religion.

V. That apparitions of the dead be unsufficient to that purpose.

VI. Neither are miracles able to prove the same.

VII. Custom also is of no strength in this case.

" 48. De eleemosyna.

" 49. De corruptis ecclesiæ moribus, p. 111.

" 50. De excommunicatione, p. 155.

" 51. De sepultura mortuorum, p. 160.

" 52. De missa, p. 164.

" 53. De divinis præceptis, p. 513, b.

" 54. De gratia et meritis, p. 183. 245. 517.

" [Accipere divinum adjutorium esse accipere Spiritum Sanctum  
" et charitatem, per quæ fit in homine delectatio summi boni,  
" p. 183.

" Gratis, id est, nullis præcedentibus meritis, p. 185.

" Justificare subinde significat justum pronunciare, declarare, aut  
" ostendere, p. 187.

" Sola fides, p. 191.

" Ex sola fide justificamur, p. 199.

" Fide in Christum, hoc est, merito passionis Christi, non nostris  
" operibus justificamur, p. 202.

" Fides quid sit, p. 207.

" Gratia accipitur pro gratia justificante, sive pro gratia illa quæ  
" bonos discernit a malis, non pro illa, quæ communis est bonis  
" et malis, p. 229.

" Conciliatio Pauli et Jacobi, p. 231.

" De loco angelorum, p. 233.

" Quod quidam angeli præsent uno vitio, p. 234.

" De libero arbitrio angelorum, ibid.

" De cognitione angelorum, p. 236.

" Utrum invocare licet auxilia dæmonum, ibid.

" De potestate dæmonum, p. 237.

" An angeli corporei sint, p. 238.

" Angeli aliquando loquuntur ex persona Patris, aliquando Filii,  
" aliquando Spiritus Sancti, aliquando Trinitatis, p. 240.

" Voces et species corporales Dei ante incarnationem per angelos  
" factæ sunt, ibid.

" Quod nomine sensualitatis inferior rationis portio intelligitur,  
" p. 244.]

" 55. De libero arbitrio, p. 244. 519, b.

" [Prævenit gratia Dei bonam voluntatem, non contra, p. 255.

" Prædestinatio, p. 262.]

" \*Pro purgatorio, p. 263.

" \*Contra purgatorium, p. 334.

" [Subversio illarum rationum quæ pro constabiliendo purgatorio  
" passim solent adduci, p. 357.

" Oramus ut eveniant ea, quæ ex Dei promissis certo novimus  
" eventura, p. 431.]

" 56. Semper orandus est Deus, ut condonet peccata, etiam piis filiis,  
" quibus jam omnia peccata dimissa sunt, p. 432. 521, b.

## Ch. VIII. Reasons against Unwritten Verities.

IX. Scriptures alleged by the papists for Unwritten Verities,  
with answers to the same.

## X. Doctors to the same purpose, with their answers.

## XI. The papists' objections, with answers unto them.

" \*De conversione impii, p. 453, a.

" [Cum impius confitetur peccatum, omnia peccata dimittuntur,  
" nec medium est ullum inter filios Dei et diaboli, ibid.

" Quod timore pœnæ fit, non fit, p. 473, a.

" Gratia sanat voluntatem, præceditque meritum, et justificatio  
" cor rectum, p. 481, a.

" Ex operibus ante Spiritum Sanctum rei potius tenemur quam  
" contra, p. 505.

" Fides non est sine operibus, nec contra, sicut nec dilectio Dei  
" sine dilectione proximi, nec e converso, p. 510, a.]

" \*De fide, p. 447, a. 450, a. 511, a.

" [Duplex fides, p. 450, b.]

" \*Contra merita humana, p. 453, b.

" [Gratia et meritum, p. 462, b. 517, b.

" Baptismus parvulorum, p. 504, b.]

" 57. De beatissima Virgine Maria, tom. i. p. 95. tom. ii. p. 523, b.

" [Peccatum originale, p. 539, b.]

" 58. De obedientia erga magistratus, p. 549, b.

" [Christianorum sectæ et errores, p. 559, b.]"

In consequence of a mistake in the paging, there are duplicates of the numbers after 447 in the second volume. These are distinguished in the above list by the letters a and b.]

## THE PREFACE.

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WHAT Christian heart, dearly beloved countrymen and brethren in our Saviour Christ, can abstain from deep sobs and sorrowful sighings? What natural and kind-hearted man can forbear weeping? so often as he calleth to remembrance the Lord's vine-Esai. v. 2. yard within the realm of England, (which he himself had of late so strongly hedged, walled, and fenced round about, by the princes of most famous memory, King Henry the Eighth and Edward the Sixth; and planted therein the pure vine of his own blessed word, by godly preachers, his gardeners;) to be so suddenly broken down, destroyed, wasted, and rooted up by the roots, by the wild boar of the wood and the beasts of the field; that is, by the Romish bishop and his bloody ministers: and now in the same vineyard to see planted, take root, and prosper, brambles, briars, and hemlocks; that is, gross ignorance, naughty doctrine, false worship of God, and such other kinds of most stinking, vile, and filthy weeds. Oh what a sweet and pleasant grape of godly doctrine was then gathered in England, to the great comfort and rejoicing of all them that lovingly tasted thereof! Then was God's word (for that is the sweet and pleasant grape, that maketh glad the heart of man) with great freedom preached, earnestly embraced, and with greedy hearts in all places received.

Kings and rulersought to be aid-ers, and not invaders; helpers, and not hurters; defences, and not offences, to God's people.

Psalm lxxx. God's word is a sweet and pleasant grape, and comforteth the heart of man to everlasting salvation. Psalm civ.

Then was God's great glory marvellously advanced: then the only merits of Christ, then true repentance for our former sins, then trust in God's mercy, through the death of our Saviour Christ, with a new Christian life, was truly published and preached every where. Then was there the Common Prayer rightly used, and the Sacraments (Baptism, I mean, and the Holy Communion) in such a tongue and language set forth, that all people might understand them. Then were they plainly ministered, without any juggling or sorcery, according to Christ's institution and the rule of his holy word. Which word, at that

time, had the prize and bare the bell away throughout the whole land.

But the hearts of the most part were naked, bare, and empty; as the proof now, alas! too well declareth. Sin is the cause why God taketh his word from any people. Esai. xxix.

With that were all pulpits filled, churches garnished, printers' shops furnished, and every man's house decked. With God's word was every man's mouth occupied; of that were all songs, interludes, and plays made. But, alas! so long, till all was played under the board. But what was the cause of all this? Truly none other thing but our own sins and wickedness: for we were talkers only, and not walkers; lip gossellers, from the mouth outward, and no farther. We were even such as the prophet speaketh of, saying, *This people honoureth me with their lips, but are far from me with their hearts.* We could speak of God's word, and talk gloriously thereof; but in our hearts we were full of pride, malice, envy, covetousness, backbiting, rioting, harlot-hunting; no whit bettered at all, than we were before under the Pope's kingdom. Nothing was in us amended, but only our tongues; no, nor they neither, if I shall speak rightly, and as the truth was in deed. For, besides our communication of Scripture, we used detraction of our neighbour, filthy talk, with many proud brags of ourselves. We read not the Scriptures, neither heard them, for any amendment of our own wicked lives; but only to make a brag and a show thereof: to check and

Matt. vii. 2. to taunt others; yea, and to spy small motes in other men's eyes, but nothing desirous to see the great beams in our own. This, I say, (to talk, and not to walk, to say, and not to do,) was not only amongst the unlearned sort, but also amongst the great clerks and chief preachers of God's word. Which thing, as I judge, was the only cause, why God, by his just judgment, suffered his elect and chosen vineyard to be thus trodden down, rooted up, and misera-

Psalm xxii. bly afflicted by this bloody boar of Rome, and the fat bulls of Basan, his cruel officers. This is the cause, why God hath suffered this great Antichrist to disgrace the merits of Christ's passion, and in place thereof to set up men's merits; and instead of his sufficient satisfaction upon the cross once for all, to set up his masses satisfactory for the sins both of the quick and dead.

This is the cause that this monstrous beast hath taught the invocation of saints, and the same to be our mediators to God, and satisfiers for our sins. Whereas before, in the forenamed vineyard, was planted Christ Jesus, the true bread that came down from heaven, and that most pure well of the water of life:

The Pope giveth lies for truth, poison for nourishing sustenance, and ministereth death for life.

John vi.

John iv.

now, after the rooting of this monstrous and ravenous boar, are upsprung conjured bread, conjured water, to drive away evil spirits, and to purge our sins.

This bloody boar, besides all mischiefs that he hath done to the vineyard, yet ceaseth he not, with fagot, fire, and all other cruel torments, to constrain and compel men to worship images, the work of men's hands; to kneel to them, to reverence them, to bow to them, and with all manner of obeisance to honour them; clean contrary to God's commandment, who saith, *Thou shalt not make to thyself* (much less then to honour, reverence, and worship them) *any graven image, nor the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth; thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them.* But yet these shameless wretches be not abashed to say, that images are necessary, because they be laymen's books, teaching them, instructing them, and leading them to the true worship of God. Oh great blasphemy! Oh sacrilege! Oh spiteful robbery! What is blasphemy, What is sacrilege, What is robbery, if this be none? God giveth his word written to be every man's book; and his pure, everlasting, and undefiled commandments as sufficient iustructions for all men to the true worship of him. But these earthly wroters, (the Pope, I mean, and his prelates,) as though they were wiser than God, will teach men to worship him with images, although the same be utterly forbidden by God, throughout the whole course of his holy Scriptures.

Psalm cxv.  
Hiern. x.

Exod. xx. 4.

God's word  
is sufficient  
to instruct  
all men in  
the true  
worship of  
God, with-  
out images.  
Priests  
think them-  
selves wiser  
than God.

These and such other false and feigned doctrines, contrary to the Scriptures of God, contained in his holy Bible, are now blown out, blustered, and yelled forth in every pulpit. Every street soundeth of these; yea, every printer's house is filled with such ungodly baggage; yea, and the same are commanded by public authority (which is much to be lamented) to be set forth, and the sincere doctrine of Christ's holy word clean put to silence, and utterly condemned. Neither may any man reason or once doubt of their doctrine, under pain of excommunication, nay, rather, under pain of burning.

And when they be not able (as they are not able at any time indeed) to prove any of these doctrines by the word of God written, then they fly to their Unwritten Verities; that is, to certain things delivered, as they say, from the Apostles by word of

The Pope  
maintain-  
eth his doc-  
trine by fire  
and fagot,  
and not by

the holy mouth, without writing. Which things are to all men uncertain; Scriptures. for no man knoweth certainly what they are. But whatsoever A weak refuge, if they pleaseth them, and maketh for their purpose, profit, and lordly were not ambition, that is an Unwritten Verity, not to be gainsaid or de- obstinate nial. This is their shote-anchor, bulwark, and extreme refuge, and shame- less.

whereunto they fly, whensoever they are forced and constrained by God's word. These they make their foundations, whereupon they build and maintain all their superstitions, idolatries, and heresies. Which foundations I trust, by God's grace and help, so to shake, both by the open Scriptures, by the full consent of all the most ancient writers, and by probable reasons, that the building thereupon shall have a fall.

If Unwritten Verities were necessary to salvation, then God's word were not sufficient thereunto. For this is most true, that no Unwritten Verity is, or can be, necessary for our salvation. For then should the sacred and holy Scriptures, written by the Apostles in the Spirit of God, and sealed with their bloods, seem to be insufficient, and not able to bring us unto salvation. But what a great blasphemy that should be to God and his most holy Spirit, all men, I trust, that list to read the same Scriptures, easily shall perceive. But when these unshamefaced robbers are put to their shifts, urged and forced herein by the open and manifest word written, then have they

Jerem. vii. another starting-hole to creep out at, crying and yelling: *Templum Domini, Templum Domini, Templum Domini*, &c.; 'The Yea, this is their strong tower and bulwark of defence: 'Church, the Church, the Church;' affirming in plain words, and yet weak enough, not being walled about with God's word. that the Church can in nowise err, or be deceived. And here they deceive themselves, because they make no distinction or difference of the Church. For there are two manner of Churches; one true, perfect, and holy in the sight of God; and another, false, imperfect, and ungodly. Truth it is, that the true Church of God, being grounded and set upon his holy word, (I mean the God's true Church, Gospel of grace,) cannot err unto damnation. But the other, because it is grounded upon the word of how shining and glorious soever it appear, if it wander abroad, and be not contained within the compass and limits of the word written, is no true, but a feigned and forged Church. That Church, as it is without the compass of God's promises made in grace, cannot err in matters of salvation, truth, not only may, but also doth commonly, yea continually, err and go astray; for they are not coupled to the head Christ, The Church which is the life, the way, and the truth. Paul, the Apostle of that wandereth from God and elect vessel of salvation, writing to the Galatians, hath God's word written these words; *If we, saith he, or an angel from heaven, preach any*



*other gospel unto you, than that we have preached, hold him ac-* may and  
*cursed.* And yet the papists, not fearing the curse of God, dare doth err in  
 be bold to teach things which Paul never knew, yea, things clean matters of  
 contrary to his evident and manifest teaching. Such gross igno- faith and  
 rance (I would to God it were but ignorance indeed) is entered Gal. i.  
 into their heads, and such arrogant boldness possesseth their The papists  
 hearts, that they are bold to affirm no Church to be the true fear not  
 Church of God, but that which standeth by ordinary succession God's  
 of bishops, in such pompous and glorious sort as now is seen. curse.  
 For if there be, say they, no such outward and visible Church,  
 how shall any man know, whether he be of the Church of Christ,  
 and in the right belief, or no? To this I answer, that if our faith  
 should be stayed upon the outward, glistening, and pompous  
 Church, not ruled, nor governed by the determinate counsel of  
 God in his word written, we should never be certain thereof, but  
 ever wavering and doubting; which is the gate and ready pathway  
 to desperation, from which God defend his chosen flock. *Cursed* Jer. xvii.  
*is he, saith the Scripture, that putteth his trust in man.* And why?  
 For *all men*, as the kingly Prophet David saith, *are liars* in their Psalm cxvi.  
 words, and sinners in their works.

By which words it appeareth plain, that there was never man  
 so virtuous, so holy, nor so well learned, only the writers of the  
 holy Scriptures excepted, but, either of ignorance or of negligence,  
 there escaped some faults in his writings and doings. Yea, the  
 General Councils themselves also, that they make so much of, The Gene-  
 have notably erred, as hereafter shall be declared. Yea, such- ral Coun-  
 hath been the truth of those seen Churches, that one General cils have  
 Council hath condemned another of heresy. Moreover, the out- erred, and  
 ward seen Church, whereof they brag not a little, hath never, that in no  
 since the beginning, any space continued in the true doctrine of small tri-  
 God. Let us begin at Moses, who was the first lawgiver, and fles.  
 we shall see the state of this outward Church, which consisteth  
 in the ordinary succession of bishops, whether it be so as I have  
 said, or no. When Moses was gone up to the mount Sinai, to Exod.  
 talk with God, and to receive the law at his hands, did not xxxii. 2.  
 Aaron, the high priest and bishop, with all the people, in the  
 mean space worship the golden calf? Read the Book of Judges,  
 and you shall see how the whole outward and visible Church fell  
 into idolatry and worshipping of strange gods, as Baal, Astaroth,  
 gods of the Edomites, Moabites, Philistines, and the Syrians.

After the reign of King David, how many kings were there, I pray you, in whose time false gods were not openly worshipped? All the kings of Israel served strange gods, with the consent of the bishops, priests, and the whole people. And in Juda there passed not three or four kings, after David, in whose days open idolatry was not allowed and practised, by the consent of the kings, bishops, high priests, scribes, and Pharisees. Which of the Prophets did not the open and visible Church persecute? Where was the visible Church in the time of Elias? Were not all that were known, and thought to be of the Church, worshippers of Baal; insomuch that Elias thought there had been left alive of God's true Church but himself only? And yet, notwithstanding, God had preserved his Church, known but only to him-

2 Tim. ii.

1 Reg. xxii. Prophet of God, but the chief priest and bishop Zedechias? And he, with four hundred priests more, of his own mind and religion, deceived Achab, and promised him victory over the Assyrians; although God had made them no such promise, but rather had pointed the contrary, as it came to pass. Who commanded

Jer. xx.

Jeremy to be beaten for his true prophesying, but Phashur, the archbishop? Who persuaded with the King, that Jeremy, the true Prophet of God, was a seditious fellow, and went about to discourage the people in Jerusalem, that they should not resist Nabuchodonozor, king of Babylon, but the priests? Yea, and when the King delivered him out of prison, who but these holy men of the Church procured him to be cast again into a deep dungeon, where they would have famished him, if God had not put in the King's heart to take him out and deliver him? These be the fruits and practices of the visible and seen Church; which, if it be true that the papists say, cannot err. But whatsoever they say it forceth not; for we know what the spirituality, as they call themselves, have been since the beginning; the very

1 Mach. vii. expressed image whereof is set forth and declared in the Machabees (as they that read the story shall perceive it well enough) by

2 Mach. iv. Alcimus, Simon, Jason, and Menelaus.

Now let us come to the New Testament, and see what the visible and known Church was under it. Who was the true Church, or how was it known to the people, in Christ's time? The high priests, bishops, scribes, Pharisees, and Sadducees, which appeared outwardly and boasted themselves to be the Church of God, were

This and such like is the reward of all true preachers and faithful servants of God.

indeed, as Christ called them, serpents, the generations of vipers, Matt. iii.  
 hypocrites, children of hell, painted tombs, persecutors of true re- xii. xxiii.  
 ligion, and murderers of the Prophets, yea, of himself and his Apo-  
 stles; men that shut up the kingdom of heaven, so that neither  
 they would enter therein themselves, nor suffer the poor simple,  
 that were desirous to know the truth, to enter; but excommu-  
 nicated and thrust them out of the Church, as men cast away,  
 as heretics, and forsaken of God, whosoever believed on Christ.  
 Who commanded the Apostles that they should preach no more Acts iv.  
 in Christ's name? Who caused Steven to be stoned, and James Acts vii.  
 to be thrown off the pinnacle, Who gave authority to Paul to bind Euseb. Ec-  
 and bring before them all that professed Christ, Who commanded cles. Hist.  
 him to be buffeted, Who accused him before Festus and Agrippa, lib. ii.  
 Who stirred the Gentiles against him in all countries where he cap. 22.  
 went to preach, but the Church? Acts ix.  
Acts xxiii.

If you will then needs judge the outward visible Church, that  
 sitteth in Moses' chair, (though they do not as the chair re-  
 quireth,) to be the true Church of God; I pray you then tell  
 me, who caused Constantinus, the Emperor, to banish Atha- Ruffini,  
 nasius? Who exiled Chrysostome and many other mo godly lib. i.  
 and well learned bishops, and slew a great number of godly cap. 17.  
 and well learned men, but the priests, by seducing the Em- Socratis,  
 press Eudoxia? Who put out the eyes of Constantine, the lib. vi.  
 fourth Emperor, and caused him to be slain, because he pulled cap. 18.  
 the images out of the Church, being worshipped contrary to God's Mark well  
 holy will and commandment, but his own mother, by the coun- the fruits of  
 sel of the Pope and the bishops, being then taken for the Church? this out-  
 Who deposed Henry, the fourth Emperor, causing his own son ward  
 to rebel against him, Who deposed Childericus, the French Church;  
 King, assoiling his subjects from their obedience to him, and and by  
 made Pipine king in his stead, but the Pope and his churchmen? them ye  
shall know  
what they  
be.

Let us come to our own realm, and speak of things done in our  
 own memory. Who procured King Henry the Eighth, in the  
 beginning of his reign, to war against the French King, (where,  
 besides the murder committed, adultery was learned, theft and  
 sacrilege practised, lying, swearing, yea, and forswearing, with  
 all other kinds of vices used, which be the very fruits of war,) but  
 the clergy? For the Pope, then being in war with the French  
 King, to make his part good and the stronger, procured the bi-  
 shops of the Church of England, being the Pope's dear darlings,

and chief of the King's Council, to entitle the King to his right of the realm and crown of France: and to encourage the young King thereto, the Pope accursed the King of France and all his aiders and succourers. Then free pardons flew abroad as thick as butterflies in summer: but so free, that the realm thereby and the said wars was robbed of a great deal of our treasure, and in manner half undone. There was full remission *a pœna et culpa*, preached at Paul's Cross and almost in every sermon through all England; promising, that whosoever died in the Pope's quarrel, his soul should be in heaven, before his bones were cold. After, when the same King Henry had justly, by the authority of God's word, and the full consent both of the Parliament and Convocation, abolished the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome; then the Pope interdicted the whole realm, and sent Cardinal Poole from prince to prince, to excite and move them, if he could have brought it to pass, to make open war against the King and the realm; as it appeareth in a sermon preached by Tunstall, now Bishop of Durham, and set out in print openly. Which sermon and all other tell-truths, opening the abuses and tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, are now put to silence. Who were the workers of all these mischiefs? Who, these three years past, hath persecuted, prisoned, and burned so many learned and godly men, only for their true faith's sake, grounded upon God's most holy word, (men worthy to be compared with the old martyrs of the primitive Church, as well for the constancy of their faith, as also for patience and charity showed at their deaths,) but the Church, as they call themselves? Who, by their cruel tyranny, hath enforced so many notable members of Christ, leaving wife, children, kinsfolk, lands, and goods, either to fly into strange realms, or else from town to town, from city to city, only because they would not drink of the venomous cup of the whore of Babylon, Who hath wrought all these wickednesses, but only the mitred prelates and their popish priests?

If we shall allow them for the true Church of God, that appear to be the visible and outward Church, consisting of the ordinary succession of bishops, then shall we make Christ, which is an innocent lamb without spot, and in whom is found no guile, to be the head of ungodly and disobedient members. Which thing is as impossible, as to make God, which is only good, and nothing but goodness itself, to be the author, original, and cause of all evil.

The Pope maketh himself equal to God, yea, rather, above him, in this his promise.

This is one of the practices of prelates.

The spiritual man never persecuteth the carnal man, but forgiveth him. Hier. ad Gal. iv.

Exod. xii.

1 Pet. ii.

For Christ, as he is pure, holy, and perfect, even so must his Church and members be, to whom he, as the head, is adjoined and coupled. Eph. i. But if we allow the Pope, his cardinals, bishops, priests, monks, canons, friars, and the whole rabble of the clergy, to be this perfect Church of God, whose doings are clean contrary, for the most part, to the will and commandment of Christ, left and expressed in his word written; then make we him a sinner, and his word of none effect. For as sweet agreeth with sour, black with white, darkness with light, and evil with good; even so this outward, seen, and visible Church, consisting of the ordinary succession of bishops, agreeth with Christ. Col. i.

But here they will ask me, How shall a man know, whether he be in the right faith, but by this Church? To this Christ shall make answer himself, saying, in the Gospel of John, *My sheep hear my voice, and shall not hear a stranger.* And where, I pray you, hath Christ left any voice to be heard or followed, but in his word written? *Search the Scriptures,* saith he, *for they bear witness of me.* Where he biddeth you not search Unwritten Verities, such as the outward, seen, and pompous Church shall of their own heads show you; but the written verities, contained in the holy Scriptures, *which are profitable to teach, to improve, to amend, and to instruct in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect, and prepared unto all good works.* 2 Tim. iii.

If thou therefore be desirous to know, whether thou be in the right faith or no, seek it not at man's mouth; for *all men be liars.* Psalm cxvi. Seek it not, I say, at a proud, glorious, and wavering sort of bishops and priests; but at God's own mouth, which is his holy word written, which can neither lie, deceive, nor be deceived. Ask, I say, seek, and knock, by diligent study and earnest prayer unto God, who hath promised to give to all them that ask faithfully of him the certainty of good faith in their conscience, taught and confirmed by the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. God's word only certifieth a man whether his faith be good or no.

And here I forbid no man, as though they should not ask and learn of the learned; for that is good and necessary, yea, and allowed by God's truth: but this would I have all men to do, to use discretion and wisdom in this matter, and to know whether they be learned, godly-minded, and able to instruct the Scriptures or no. And yet, if they be, believe them no further than they can show their doctrine and exhortation to be Try every spirit, but allow none further than they agree with the written

Scriptures.  
God's word  
trieth all  
things,  
whether  
they be  
good or  
bad.

agreeable with the true word of God written. For that is the very touchstone, which must, yea, and also will, try all doctrine or learning whatsoever it be, whether it be good or evil, true or false. And let not men of small learning be too curious in asking or moving dark and doubtful questions, which breed contention, rather than godly edifying; but let them be content with the plain and open places of the Scriptures. Let them rather be earnest to observe the commandments of faith and love, which are plainly set forth in God's book, than to trouble themselves and busy their heads with dark places; for that is a thing that hath done and also doth displease God very greatly. Yea, I think surely, that these heavy plagues, wherewith God most justly punisheth now this realm of England, (which I beseech him, of his infinite mercy, either to take clean away, or else to mitigate them for his elect's sake,) cometh not so much for the simple, innocent, and unlearned sort, which, being beguiled through their simplicity by the craft and subtlety of the wily papists, do still continue in superstition and idolatry; but rather for the curious sort, which preach strange and far-fetched doctrines, nothing so much to edifying as to contentious brawling. Yea, I would to God there were not a great number of them, that were and are counted learned, which preach and defend doctrines which themselves know to be untrue and contrary to the evident Scriptures. Would God there were not many hundreds of great gossellers sometimes, that had not subscribed with their own hands, and confirmed by their open and public sermons, the contrary of that which they once builded in Christ. And some of such, I know, in persuading privately with their old friends and acquaintance, have confessed no less, but that they have done contrary to the truth, and the good persuasion of their own conscience: and yet the same men counsel their friends, for unity and peace sake, as they term it, but rather, they may say, for fear of loss of goods and life, to obey wicked superstitions, naughty rites, and damnable laws. But what peace or what unity is that, that is against God and his Christ? And *what profiteth it a man to win all the world, and lose his own soul?* For *he that loveth his own life more than me*, saith Christ, *is not worthy of me*. For these men's sakes therefore; that is to say, the stubborn papists, that lead the world in blindness, contrary to their own consciences; and specially for delicate gossellers' sakes, whose wit and virtue is in

Their con-  
sciences  
shall there-  
fore con-  
demn them  
for so  
doing, if  
they repent  
not in time.

Matt. xvi.

The wit  
and virtue  
of delicate

their tongues, hot disputers, busy talkers, taunters and fault finders with others, rather than menders of themselves: for these <sup>gospellers is in their tongues.</sup> two sorts' sakes chiefly, I say, God heapeth these great plagues; that is, persecution of his word, dearth, danger of war, and people of strange nations, likely to subdue and utterly destroy that our realm, except they repent and amend their lives in time, and become not only forgetful of their former evils, but also diligent workers, and true followers of the word, that they have so lightly condemned and refused. Which if they do not, let them be sure that all the plagues which are written in the book of God, and all the blood of his saints, which hath been shed from just <sup>Matt. xxiii.</sup> Abel unto this present time, shall be poured upon them. But howsoever these men do, let us, dear brethren, whose hearts God of his goodness hath more mercifully touched, repent and amend our former lives, and cease from all dead works, lest we be partakers of the same plagues with them. But thanks be unto our God, that hath so gently ordered us: for this we know, that God suffereth not his people long to follow their own minds; but shortly punisheth them, which is a token of his great loving-kindness toward them. For this grace have we of God more <sup>2 Mach. vi.</sup> than other people, as it is written, that he suffereth not us long to sin unpunished like other nations, that when the day of judgment cometh, he may punish them in the fulness of their sins. If we sin, he correcteth us, but he never withdraweth his mercy from us; and though he punish us with adversity, yet doth he never forsake his people: *For whom, as Paul saith, the Lord loveth, him* <sup>Heb. xii.</sup> *he chasteneth; yea, and he scourgeth every son whom he receiveth.*

But, to leave this digression, and come to our purpose again, I will briefly show you, what the outward face of the Church and religion hath been in all ages; even such as hath pleased the mighty kings, emperors, and rulers of the world. When Jero- <sup>2 Chron. xiii.</sup> boam set up golden calves at Bethel and Dan, the priests and Levites consented thereto, and all Israel worshipped them, contrary to God's commandment. When Jesabel had persuaded <sup>The will of a woman must be followed, or else all the fat is in the fire.</sup> with her husband about murder, he fulfilled her mind and slew all the Prophets of God that he could come by; only Elias remained, that was known to be the true Church, whereas the priests of Baal were four hundred and fifty in number. <sup>1 Reg. xix.</sup> Ezechias <sup>1 Reg. xviii.</sup> destroyed the brasen serpent, and restored the true religion <sup>2 Reg. xviii.</sup> and worship of God; but Manasses, his son, set up idolatry,

2 Reg. xxi. maintained wicked religion, and slew them that were good.  
 2 Reg. xxiii. Josias restored right religion; but Jehoas and Jehoachim, his  
 2 Reg. xxiv. sons, forsook it, and all their priests and subjects with them com-  
 As princes mitted idolatry. And generally, what religion soever the king  
 would, so would have, that was stablished for his time: so that, as Solo-  
 all things mon saith of the judges, so may we say of the clergy, *whatsoever*  
 were done. *saith the prince, that saith the priest.*

But let us once again come to the New Testament. Did not  
 Matt. xxvi. the head rulers of the Church, with the authority of Herod and  
 Matt. xxvii. Pilate, condemn Christ and his doctrine as erroneous and sedi-  
 tious; and all the people followed, and cried, *Crucifige*? Did not  
 all the emperors before Constantine, being seduced by their bi-  
 shops and priests, condemn Christian religion as heretical, sedi-  
 tious, and traitorous, and for the same murdered many thou-  
 sands of martyrs; and all the people said, Amen? When  
 Constantine was christened, then was the true religion first set  
 forth and openly preached by public authority: and yet, in the  
 space between Christ and this godly emperor, God was not  
 without his Church, though it were not known, seen, and so  
 accepted of the world. In this Prince's time, and by his au-  
 thority, was kept the first and best General Council of Nice;  
 where was set forth our common Creed, containing shortly the  
 chief and most necessary articles of our belief. This Constantinus's  
 son Constantius, favouring the error of the Arians, in the Coun-  
 cil of Arimine, decreed that Christ was not God, but man only.  
 And then to call Christ the Son of God, was by the outward  
 known Church, and by a General Council, condemned for an  
 heinous heresy. From that time forth, when paynim princes  
 reigned, idolatry and worshipping of false gods was the public  
 doctrine. When heretics reigned and bare the rule, heresy was  
 openly preached for God's truth. When the emperors were ca-  
 tholic, then was the true doctrine of the Gospel openly preached.  
 And generally such as was the faith of the emperors, kings, or  
 other rulers, such did the priests preach. And if any, by the au-  
 thority of God's word, preached the contrary, or withstood their  
 corrupt teachings, straightway he was either deposed from his  
 office, condemned for an heretic, banished, brent, or put to some  
 other cruel death.

After all these sprung up the Pope, that triple-crowned mon-  
 ster, and great Antichrist, which took upon him authority, not

Theodoret,  
 lib. ii.  
 cap. 18.

The priests,  
 for the  
 most part,  
 were dou-  
 ble-faced,  
 turntip-  
 pets, and  
 flatterers.



only over the clergy, but also climbed above kings and emperors, deposing them at his pleasure, and settled himself in the temple of God, that is, in the consciences of men, extolling himself above God, dispensing with God's laws, and giving men leave to break them, and to regard more his decrees than the everlasting commandments of God. And so it came to pass in time, that to eat flesh on the Friday, or fasting-day, was counted greater sin than drunkenness, adultery, or perjury. And why? Because his laws were diligentlier and more straitly looked to, and the offenders thereof sorer punished, than God's laws. Since this Antichrist of Rome, I say, was stablished in his full power, whatsoever pleased him, that was taken for God's law, and that was decreed upon by General Council, confirmed and ratified by whole heaps of clerks. To speak against that, was and also now is detestable heresy, and so heinous a crime against the Holy Ghost, (if it were true that they say,) that it cannot be forgiven, either in this world or in the world to come. He that speaketh against any of his decrees, must utterly be condemned for an heretic, accursed of God, and damned into hell for ever, without redemption; except he recant, abjure, and deny the truth, and set forth error and false doctrine, and promise, with a solemn oath, that he shall never preach, teach, nor defend the truth hereafter.

Now let us come to our days. When King Henry the Eighth was, as he ought to be by God's law, made supreme head, as well of the clergy as of the laity, he, by the consent of the Parliament and Convocation, set forth in print a godly book of religion, not much varying from that which was enacted in his son's time, Edward the Sixth. But when he took displeasure with certain bishops, as they term them, of the new learning, because they would not give their consent in the Parliament that the King should have all abbey lands to his own use, but only such lands as were given by his ancestors, kings of England; and that the residue of those lands should have been bestowed to augment the number of learned men in the Universities; to the founding also of grammar schools in every shire of England, where children, most apt to learning, should have been brought up freely, and without great cost to their friends and kinsfolks; to the founding of hospitals, where poor and impotent people should have been sufficiently provided for with physicians and surgeons, which should have ministered both physic and surgery freely, not only to them, but

These be the Pope's thunderbolts, wherewith he feareth the people, and maketh them to incline to his ways.

It was a small matter at that time to be displeased with such men, and so much the more for that they withstood private commodity.

Private commodity and popish subtlety overcame good public policy, and brought in tyranny.

also to all other poor folk within this realm; and also in every shire town, and other market towns where should be thought most meet and fit, to set up divers occupations, most profitable for the commonwealth, where all valiant and sturdy beggars should have been set to work, and if they refused to labour, then to force them thereto by whipping, stocking, and hunger; and the residue of the abbey lands above these should have been reserved in the common treasuries, to aid the King in his wars, or other affairs of his realm, and thereby to have favoured and eased the more his subjects, in taxes, subsidies, fifteens, and loans, and such other like things:—King Henry, as I said before, upon the displeasure taken, and by the incitation of the old popish bishops, shortly after, by consent of the same, or the most part of them, that were makers of the first book of religion, set forth, by open Parliament and Convocation, the Six Articles, as well agreeing with the former Parliament and the word of God, as black with white, light with darkness, Christ with Belial, or with Antichrist. But after, when he was pacified with these foresaid bishops, considering that they spake against the King's profit, not of malice, but of good conscience and zeal to God's glory and the commonwealth, he mitigated the Six Articles; and from that time forth, more and more, restored true religion; and I doubt not, but, if he had lived, he would have brought all things to a better state than he left it. But Edward the Sixth, his son, succeeding in his said father's place, by the advice of his uncle, the Duke of Somerset, the lords of his Council, bishops, and the clergy, set forth such a book of religion, as, without boast or dispraise of other be it spoken, was never a better set forth since the Apostles' time.

They are all perjured, so many as gave their consent to the bringing in of the Bishop of Rome.

Now, after that God had plagued this realm with the most grievous plague that ever came to it, in taking away from it so godly a king as he was, yea, such an one as hath not been read of, of his age, in any realm, both for wit, learning, soberness, and godliness; in his stead He hath set up Queen Mary, who in short time hath pulled down that was not builded in many years, and brought in the Bishop of Rome, before justly and by law of Parliament abolished, with open perjury of so many as gave their voices and consent to the same. For they had all made a solemn oath before, never to receive his unjust usurped power into the realm again.

Hath she not, being seduced by the perjured prelates, revoked and made of none effect so many godly laws enacted by Parliament; that is, by the consent of the lords both spiritual and temporal, the clergy and common house, yea, and by them that were the chief of King Henry her father's Privy Council, and set-  
 ters on of him in the abolishing of the Bishop of Rome, even open preachers and writers against the Pope's tyranny, with so pithy reasons and strong arguments, as neither they themselves, nor any other after them, shall be able at any time rightly to assoil and answer? Yet these men were chief of counsel, and procurers of the Queen, and first workers in the Parliament to allure the lords and commons to receive the Bishop of Rome again for the supreme head of this realm, contrary to God's law, the laws of this realm, and their own solemn oaths. And not only this, but they have taken away the Acts of mortmain and *præmunire*, and divers other statutes that did bridle the unsatiable covetousness and licentious liberty of the popish priests, and restored the Act *ex officio*. Which thing, if it should long continue in this state that it is in, the great treasure of this realm should come into the clergy's hands, and a great part thereof should fly to Rome, for bishoprics, benefices, appellations, pardons, dispensations, and such other baggage.

But, say the papists, when Scriptures be hard and doubtful, and seem to be contrary one to another by mistaking and wrong understanding, whereof divers heresies do arise, how shall a man know the truth in such diversity of opinions, both parties grounding themselves upon the Scriptures, but only by the Church; which, as they say, cannot err? Saint Augustine shall make answer herein for me, saying on this wise; "Dark places are to be expounded by more plain places; for that is the surest way of declaring the Scriptures, to expound one Scripture by another." And again he saith, that "in things openly contained in the Scriptures are found all things that concern faith, good living, and charity." "And if any thing cannot be tried by the certain and clear places of the Scriptures, let man's presumption," saith he, "stay itself, not leaning to either part: for this I am sure of, that if it were requisite to be known upon pain of damnation, there should not lack most plain and clear authorities of the same in the Scriptures. But in seeking of the Scriptures, let us seek no farther than is left in writing by

The bishops, I warrant you, were none of those; for they cannot err. These are wavering reeds, and perfect weather-cocks, that turn with every wind. By their deeds ye shall know them, what they be.

In his third book of Christian Doctrine, cap. 28.

In his second book of Christian Doctrine, cap. 9.

In his third book of Merits and Forgiveness of Sins, tom. vii. cap. ult.

Upon Genesis,  
cap. 14.  
Hom. 35.

In his  
Unperfect  
Work, cap.  
23.

James i.

“ God our Saviour, lest in desiring too much we lose all.” Saint Chrysostome also sayeth, “ It is not possible that he, which with earnest study and fervent desire applieth him to the Scriptures of God, should ever be neglected of God ; but although we lack a master to teach us, yet the Lord himself, entering our hearts from above, shall give light into our minds, and pour his bright beams into our reason and understanding, and open the things that be hid, and teach us those things whereof we be ignorant.” “ Therefore,” saith the same Chrysostome, “ if thou wilt enter into the truth of the Scriptures, now ask by prayers, now knock by good works, and search the old ancient writers, and ask divers priests, to know which be the true key-keepers, and which are the false. For all things,” saith he, “ are plain and manifest in the divine Scriptures, whatsoever things are needful, are there opened.” But if these authors will not satisfy them, then let them use Saint James’s counsel, saying, *He that lacketh wisdom, let him ask it of God, which giveth to all men indifferently, and casteth no man in the teeth ; and it shall be given him.* For God is not partial, nor regardeth any more a pope than a potter, a cardinal than a carter, a bishop than a butcher, a priest than a pedlar, except his faith and life be agreeable to God’s will.

Whither should a man, desiring to know the truth, and right understanding and worshipping of God, have resorted in Elias his time, when there was no more of the true outward Church but he alone ? To whom should a man have resorted for counsel of the truth in the time of Jeremy ? Of whom should a man have learned the truth in Christ’s time, when there was no ordinary succession of bishops in the truth ? Should they have learned, think you, the truth of God of the head priests, Scribes, and Pharisees ? Then you know what a learning they should have had, and how much Christ should have profited them. How should a man have been satisfied of his salvation at Annas, Cayphas, and the rest of the Pharisees’ hands ? Even so, no doubt, would they have taught and instructed him, that, if he had believed and followed their sayings, Christ and he should never have met. And yet those men bare the image and name of the known Church at that time ; yea, and the same men condemned Him, of whom our faith and salvation dependeth, as a seditious fellow, as a traitor to Cæsar, as an heretic, and a blasphemer of

God. Christ therefore, to teach us what we should do in matters pertaining to his glory and our own commodity, sendeth his hearers to the Scriptures, and not to the Church. He said also to the Sadducees, *Ye err, because ye know not the Scriptures*; and not, *because ye believe not the Church*. He also promiseth his elect, that they shall hear his voice, and not a stranger's voice. If ye be doubtful therefore in any point, resort to the Scriptures given from God, and out of them search for the thing whereof thou art ignorant; and, above all things, be not too rash in judgment, neither trust too much in thine own wit. Ask also counsel of such men whom thou knowest to be well learned and exercised in the same Scriptures, and whose conversation thou seest to be agreeable to their words: and yet believe them no farther, than they can prove their doctrines and exhortations to answer and agree with God's most holy word. Seek, ask, cry, call, knock, fast, and pray with a constant faith; joining thereto a Christian, sober, and a charitable living: and then *he that hath the key of David, who openeth, and no man shutteth*, shall, according to his promise, give unto you all that you ask of his Father in his name, and shall send his Holy Spirit into your hearts, who shall lead you into all truth, and put you in remembrance of all those things, which Christ hath commanded, needful and necessary for your salvation.

Whatsoever therefore the Church teacheth you out of the canonical books of the Bible, believe that; but if they teach any thing beside that, (I mean, which is not agreeing with the same,) believe neither that nor them: for then they are not the Church of Christ, but the synagogue of Satan and Antichrist. For the Church of God, as Saint Paul witnesseth, *is builded upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets*; not upon the Apostles, but upon the same foundation which they laid, that is, Christ Jesus and his holy word. And all such Unwritten Verities as the papists have in their mouths, though they seem never so glorious a Church to the face of the world, if they be not agreeing, as they are not in deed, to the very word of God, suspect them; yea, rather, I bid you utterly to abhor and reject them. For their outward and seen Church may, and doth, as is before proved, commonly err in great and weighty matters. Stand fast therefore to sound and good doctrine, and waver not. And if any man come unto you, and bring not this doctrine with him,

*receive him not into your house, bid him not God speed, nor have aught to do with him ; but count him as an abject from God and Christ. But cleave ye fast to the sound and certain doctrine of God's infallible word, written in the canonical books of the New and Old Testament, which is able sufficiently to instruct you to eternal salvation, through Jesus Christ our Lord. To whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and praise for ever and ever. Amen.*

## THE BOOK TO THE READER.

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JUDGE not before  
Thou know mine intent ;  
But read me throughout,  
And then say thy fill ;  
As thou in opinion  
Art minded and bent,  
Whether it be  
Either good or ill.

I care not for praise,  
Nor slander untrue,  
Of man nor of child,  
Whatever he be.  
Truth need not to fear  
Who doth it pursue,  
With praise or dispraise  
In any degree.

For truth is not bettered  
By praises at all,  
Nor harm'd by dispraise  
Of any wight :  
But goodness or hurt  
Most surely come shall  
To him that doth judge  
Either wrong or right.

Read me, then judge me,  
Therefore I thee pray ;  
Nothing for my cause,  
But only thine own :  
For I shall endure,  
Whosoever say nay,  
When Unwritten Truths  
Shall be overthrown.





A  
CONFUTATION

OF

UNWRITTEN VERITIES,

BY DIVERS AUTHORITIES, DILIGENTLY AND TRULY GATHERED  
TOGETHER OUT OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES AND  
ANCIENT FATHERS.

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*That the word of God written, contained within the Canon of the Bible, is a true, sound, perfect, and whole doctrine, containing in itself fully, all things needful for our salvation.*

THE FIRST CHAPTER.

DEUT. iv. Ye shall put nothing to the word which I command you, neither take aught therefrom; that ye may keep the commandments of the Lord your God, which I command you.

Deut. xii. You shall not do any thing, that we do here this day, every man what seemeth him good in his own eyes.

Ibid. Whatsoever I command you, that take heed you do only to the Lord; and put nothing thereto, nor take aught therefrom.

Deut. xviii. The prophet which shall presume to speak a word in my name, which I have not commanded him to speak, or that speaketh in the name of strange gods, that prophet shall die.

Prov. xxx. All the words of God are pure and clean; for he is a shield unto all them that put their trust in him. Put thou nothing unto his words, lest he reprove thee, and thou be found a liar.

Jer. xxiii. Hear not the words of the prophets that preach

unto you and deceive you : for they speak the meaning of their own hearts, and not out of the mouth of the Lord.

Matt. v. Whosoever teacheth and keepeth the same, (speaking of his commandments,) shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven.

Matt. vii. Whosoever heareth these my words, and doeth the same, shall be likened unto a wise man, that buildeth his house upon a rock ; and abundance of rain fell, the floods came, the wind blew, and beat upon the same house ; and it fell not, because it was grounded on a sure rock.

Matt. xv. This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips, howbeit their hearts be far from me : but in vain do they serve me, teaching the doctrines and precepts of men.

Matt. xxviii. Go ye, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, &c. ; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you.

Mark xvi. Go ye into all the world, and preach my Gospel to all creatures.

John v. He that heareth my word, and believeth in him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into damnation ; but is escaped from death to life.

John v. Search the Scriptures ; for in them ye think ye have eternal life : and they are they which testify of me.

John xx. These are written, that you might believe that Jesus is Christ, the Son of God ; and that, in believing, ye might have life through his name.

Acts xx. I have spared no labour, but I have showed you all the counsel of God.

Acts xxvi. I have obtained help of God, and continue unto this day, witnessing both to the small and to the great, saying none other things than those which the Prophets and Moses did say should come.

Rom. x. Faith cometh by hearing ; hearing cometh by the word of God.

Rom. xiv. Whatsoever is not of faith, the same is sin.

2 Cor. i. We be not lords over your faith, but helpers of your joy.

Gal. i. Though we ourselves, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you, than that which we have preached, let him be accursed.

2 Tim. iii. Continue thou in the things which thou hast learned, which also were committed unto thee, knowing of whom thou hast learned them; and forasmuch also as thou hast known the holy Scriptures of a child, which are able to make thee learned unto salvation, through the faith which is in Christ Jesu. For all Scripture, given by inspiration of God, is profitable to teach, to improve, to amend, to instruct in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect, and prepared to all good works.

1 Pet. iv. If any man speak, let him speak as the words of God.

2 John. If any man come unto you, and bring not this learning, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed. For he that biddeth him God speed, is partaker of his evil deeds.

Apoc. xxii. If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book: and if any man shall minish of the words of this prophesy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and from those things which are written in this book.

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*That the writings of the old Fathers, without the written word of God, are not able to prove any doctrine in religion.*

## THE SECOND CHAPTER.

IRENEUS, lib. ii. cap. 46. To lean to the Scriptures of God, <sup>Doctrine in</sup> which is the certain and undoubted truth, is to build a man's <sup>religion</sup> house upon a sure and strong rock. But to leave that, and <sup>must be</sup> lean to any other doctrines, whatsoever they be, is to build <sup>grounded</sup> a ruinous house upon the shattering gravel; whereof the <sup>upon the</sup> overthrow is easy. <sup>Scriptures</sup> <sup>only.</sup>

We may  
not build  
our faith  
upon men's  
traditions.

Idem, in Epistola 72. Happy is he that soweth upon the water where the ox and the ass treadeth; that is, upon that people which only followeth the doctrine of both the Testaments, and not upon the vain traditions of men.

The Apo-  
stles taught  
nothing  
but that  
which they  
learned of  
Christ.

TERTULLIAN, in the Prescriptions of Heretics, p. 95. It is not lawful for us to favour any doctrine at our pleasure, nor yet to choose what any man hath brought in of his own mind. We have the Apostles of the Lord for our authors, which did not elect any thing, that they would bring in, of their own heads; but taught faithfully to all nations, that doctrine that they had received of Christ. Therefore although *an angel from heaven should preach any other thing, let us hold him accursed.*

The first  
point of be-  
lief is, that,  
after the  
Gospel,  
none other  
thing is to  
be believed.

And a little after he saith, We need to use no curiosity after Jesus Christ, nor make further search after the Gospel: for when we believe, we desire to believe no more. For first we believe this, that there is nothing else that we ought to believe.

There is no  
certainty in  
that the  
Scripture  
defineth  
not.

Idem, of the Flesh of Christ, p. 20, against Apelles, which said, that the angels had a bodily substancé, which they took of the stars. Tertullian answereth, that there is no certainty in this matter, because the Scripture declareth it not.

The Law,  
the Pro-  
phets, and  
the Gospel  
are the first  
doctrines,  
and there-  
fore true.

The same, to Praxeas, p. 418. Let this be a general rule, indifferently determined beforehand against all heresies, that that is true, whatsoever is first; and that to be forged, whatsoever cometh after.

Our words,  
without  
God's word,  
are not to  
be believed.

ORIGEN, in his first Homily upon Jeremy. We must needs call the holy Scriptures to witness; for our judgments and expositions, without these witnesses, are worthy no credit.

That which  
cannot be  
proved by  
the Scrip-  
ture, leave  
to God.

Idem, upon Leviticus, in his fifth Homily. If the holy Scripture do not determine any thing, we ought not to admit any other writing for the stablishing of our doctrine: but as for the rest, let us leave it to God.

The same, upon the third chapter to the Romans. After

these, as his custom is, (meaning St. Paul,) he doth confirm that he had said by the Scriptures, giving also an example to the preachers of the Church, that those things which they speak to the people, should be armed and maintained by the holy Scriptures, and not spoken out of their own judgments. For if he, being such and so great an Apostle, thought not the authority of his own words to be sufficient, except he teach those things which he saith, to be written in the Law and the Prophets; how much more ought we little ones to take heed, that, when we teach, we utter not our own minds, but the sentences of the Holy Ghost.

If Paul thought his authority not sufficient, much more ought we to take heed that we utter not our own minds.

The same, upon Matthew, in his 26th Homily. No man ought, for the stablishing of doctrine, to use any books that be without the canonical Scriptures.

CYPRIAN, in the Exposition of the Creed, after that he hath rehearsed the canonical books of the Bible, he saith, These be they which our fathers have included within the Canon, out of the which our fathers would the doctrine of our faith to be certain: nevertheless there be other books, which of our elders were not called canonical, but ecclesiastical: as the Book of Wisdom, the Books of Sirach, Tobie, Judith, Machabees, and other. All which books they would have to be read in the Church, but not alleged as of authority to confirm any article of our faith. All other writings they called Apocrypha, which they would in no wise to be read in the Church.

All books which be not in the Canon of the Bible are called Apocrypha, and are not sufficient to prove any articles of our faith.

ATHANASIUS, Against the Gentiles. The holy Scriptures, being inspired from God, are sufficient to all instruction of the truth.

BASILIIUS, in his book of Ethics, of his short Definitions the 26th. Every word and deed that maketh for the certainty and surety of good men, and the confusion of them that be evil, must be confirmed by the testimony of God's Scriptures. And those things, which either in our nature, or in

the custom and manner of our life, are manifestly known, must we use, to confirm those things which we do and say.

The same, in his short Definitions, the first question, Whether it be lawful or expedient for a man to permit himself to do what he thinketh good, without the testimony of the holy Scriptures? His answer: Seeing that our Saviour saith of the Holy Ghost, *He shall not speak of himself; but whatsoever he hath heard, that shall he speak:* and of himself he saith, *The Son can do nothing of himself:* and again, *I have not spoken of myself; but he which sent me gave me commandment what I should say, and what I should speak; and I know that his commandment is eternal life: therefore those things that I speak, I speak as the Father said unto me:* who is he then that will run into such madness, that he dare once think only any thing of himself, seeing that he hath need of the Holy Ghost for his aid, so that, both in mind, word, and work, he may be guided in the way of truth; and that he must needs walk in darkness, except he be lightened with the Sun of Righteousness, our Lord Jesus Christ, which shineth upon us with his commandments, as with bright beams? For *the commandment of the Lord is clear, and giveth light to the eyes.* For of those things that are done and commonly used among us, some are by God's commandment determined and plainly set forth in the holy Scriptures, and some not

No man can  
dispense  
with God's  
law.

expressed. Of those that be expressed by the Scriptures, there is utterly no power given to any man, whatsoever he be in the whole world, either to do any thing of those that be forbidden, or else to leave undone any thing of them that be commanded; seeing that the Lord hath once commanded and said, *Whatsoever I command you, that take*

Things that  
be not com-  
manded be  
indifferent,  
to be used  
or not used;  
but yet as  
charity re-  
quireth.

*heed ye do, &c.* But of those things that are not expressed, the Apostle Paul hath given us a rule, saying, *I may do all things; but all things are not expedient: I may do all things; but all things edify not.*

ISYCHIUS, upon Leviticus, lib. v. cap. 16. Let us, which

would have any thing observed of God, search no more but that which the Gospel doth give unto us.

Search no further than the Gospel.

CHRYSOSTOME, upon the 24th chap. of Matthew, Hom. 49.

*When you shall see the abominable desolation stand in the holy place*; that is, when you shall see ungodly heresy, which is the army of Antichrist, stand in the holy places of the Church; *in that time let them which are in Jewry fly unto the hills*; that is, let them that be in Christendom resort unto the Scriptures. For like as the true Jew is a Christian, (as the Apostle saith, *He is not a Jew which is outward*, &c.) in like manner the very Jewry is Christianity, the hills are the Scriptures of the Apostles and Prophets. And why doth he command all Christians at that time to resort to the Scriptures? For in this time, since heresy hath prevailed in the Church, there can be none other proof of true Christianity, neither can there be any other refuge for Christian men, willing to know the truth of the right faith, but only unto the holy Scriptures. Beforetime it was showed by many other means which was the true Church of Christ, and which Gentility; but now there is no way to know it. And why? For all those things which pertain to Christ in deed, have the heretics in their schism; likewise Churches, likewise the Scriptures of God, likewise bishops, and other orders of clerks; and likewise baptism and the sacrament of thanksgiving; and, to conclude, Christ himself. Wherefore he that will know, which is the true Church of Christ in this so great a confusion of things, being so like, how shall he know it but only by the Scriptures? It was also known which was the true Church of Christ by their manners, when the conversation of Christian men, either of all or many, was holy; which was not among the heathen. But now Christian men are become like, or worse than the Gentiles or heretics; yea, and there is more continency found amongst them than amongst Christians. Therefore he that will know which is the true Church of Christ, whereby shall he know it, but only by the Scriptures? The Lord therefore, knowing that so great a con-

In time of heresy, there is no means to try the truth, and the true Church of Christ from Antichrist's Church, but only by the Scriptures.

An heavy saying, but, alas! too true.

fusion of things should come in the latter time, commandeth, that Christian men that be willing to know the right faith, should fly to none other things, but only to the Scriptures. For if they look upon any other thing, but only the Scriptures, they shall be offended and perish, not perceiving which is the true Church, and so fall into the abominable desolation, which standeth in the holy places of the Church.

Preachers must neither add nor take aught from God's law.

The same, in the Unperfect Work, Matt. chap. 7. Every preacher is a servant of the law, which may neither add any thing above the law, of his own mind, nor withdraw any thing, after his own understanding; but preach that thing only that is had in the law, as Solomon saith, *Thou shalt add nothing to the word of God, nor take aught therefrom.*

They that boast themselves of the Holy Ghost, without Scripture, be void of the Holy Ghost.

The same, of the Holy Ghost, tom. iii. If you see any man saying, that I have the Holy Ghost, and not speaking the Gospel, but his own, that man speaketh of himself, and the Holy Ghost is not in him. And after: If any of them therefore which saith he hath the Holy Ghost, and speaketh any thing of himself, and not forth of the Gospel, say, Follow my counsel, believe him not.

The same, on the 7th of Matthew, Hom. 19. upon this text, *By their fruits ye shall know them.* The fruits of man is the confession of his faith, and the works of his conversation. If thou therefore shalt see a Christian man, forthwith consider, if his confession agree with the Scriptures, he is a true Christian; but if not, he is, as Christ said, false. For so John, when he wrote his Epistle of the heretics, said not, If any come unto you, not having the name of Christ, *bid him not God speed*; but, *If any bring not this doctrine.*

Heretics ought first to be convinced by the Scriptures, and after by reason.

The same, in the same place, the 22d chap. and 42d Homily. Let us first allege the authority of the Scriptures to the false forgers, afterward let us show them reasons: and to them that ask for any manner of purpose, first let us declare unto them the reason, and afterward the authority; that we may pacify them with reason, and stablish them with authority. For we ought to confute false interpreters, and instruct them that search.



The same, upon the last of the Romans, upon this text, *To preach I beseech you, brethren.* He saith, that dissensions and slanders, that is to say, heresies, are brought in of those which bring any thing besides the doctrine and learning of the Apostles. To preach any thing besides God's word is to sow sedition and heresy.

The same, upon the latter Epistle to Timothy, the 3d chap. There is nothing that cannot be determined by the Scriptures: *to reprove*, if it be to be reproved, that is to say, lies; *to correct*, and *to teach in righteousness*; if it be needful, saith he, that any thing should be corrected or instructed, that is, to be made continent and sober unto righteousness, and to execute those things that be just, all that shall be given by the Scripture, *that the man of God may be perfect*: the amendment, saith he, is prepared by the Scriptures, that nothing may be lacking to that man that walketh after God. All things may be determined by the Scripture.

The same, upon Matthew, 22d chap. Hom. 4. Whatsoever is required for our salvation, is already contained in the holy Scriptures. He that is ignorant, shall find there what he may learn. He that is stubborn and a sinner, may find there scourges of the judgments to come, the which he may fear. He that is troubled, may find there the joys and promises of everlasting life, through the beholding of the which he may be stirred to good works. The holy Scripture containeth all things needful for our salvation.

The same, upon the 2d of the Thessalonians, 2d chap. All things be plain and clear in the Scriptures, and what things soever be needful, be manifest there.

The same, upon the 2d to Timothy, 3d chap. If there be any thing needful to be known, or not to be known, we shall learn it by the holy Scriptures: if we shall need to reprove a falsehood, we shall fetch it from thence: if to be corrected, to be chastened, to be exhorted, or comforted, to be short, if aught lack that ought to be taught or learned, we shall also learn it out of the same Scriptures.

The same, Hom. 1. Ad Titum. Like as the beadle crieth openly to all them that be in the court, so do we preach openly; but on that condition, that we add nothing, but preach only that thing that we have heard: for the office of A preacher must speak nothing but out of God's mouth.

a crier is to speak out those things that be committed to him, and not to add, change, or take away any thing.

Believe him not, that speaketh without the Scripture.

The same, upon the latter Epistle to Timothy, the 3d chap. Therefore neither ought they to be believed at all, except they speak those things which be agreeable to the Scriptures.

He that believeth the Gospel written, needeth believe no more.

The same, upon the 20th chap. of John, Hom. 89. But why did not the Apostles write all things? Chiefly, because of the multitude of them. Moreover, they did consider, that he which would not believe these, would not believe more; but he that believeth these, need no more to attain faith.

The same, upon Genesis, the 12th Homily. The holy Scripture expoundeth itself, and suffereth not the hearer to err.

Not man's wisdom, but the Holy Ghost, is the true expositor of the Scripture.

The same, in the same book, the 21st Homily. Neither hath the Scripture of God any need of man's wisdom, that it may be understand, but the revelation of the Holy Ghost; that the true meaning being sucked thereout, great advantage may grow to us thereby.

Nothing is of like authority with the holy Scripture.

HIERONYMUS, in the Prologue of the Bible to Pauline. After he had recited the books of the New Testament and the Old, he saith, I pray thee, dear brother, among these live, muse upon these, know nothing else, seek for none other thing.

God's word cutteth off all traditions apostolic, as they call them, which be beside the same word.

Again, upon the books of the Old and New Testament. These writings be holy, these books be sound both in number and authority, there is none other to be compared to these; whatsoever is besides these, may in no wise be received among these holy things.

We ought not to allow any man's doctrine, without God's word.

Again, upon the 1st chap. of Agge. All other things which they seek out and invent at their own pleasure, without the authority and testimony of the Scriptures, (as though they were the traditions of the Apostles,) the sword of God cutteth off.

The Apostles

Again, in his little Commentaries to the Galatians, upon this place, *Condescend to no man; this persuasion is not of*

God, which hath called you ; thus he interpreteth it: Ye ought neither to consent to them, nor to me, without the word of God.

Again, upon Matthew, the 13th chap. upon this place, *Every learned scribe.* Whatsoever the Apostles preached, they confirmed it by the oracles of the Law and Prophets.

The same, to Minerius and Alexander. Not, according to Pythagoras' disciples, the opinion given sentence upon aforehand by the doctors, but the reason of the doctrine is to be weighed: but if any man, that is of a contrary sect, do murmur why I read their expositions, unto whose doctrines I do not consent; let him know, that I willingly hear this of the Apostle, *Prove all things, but cleave to that which is good*; and the words of our Saviour, saying, *Be ye tried bankers*: and if any money be counterfeited, and have not the emperor's stamp, nor be current money, refuse it; but that that showeth the face of Christ in the clear light, bestow it in the purse of your heart.

The same, upon Matthew, 23d chap. That which hath none authority of the Scriptures may as easily be rejected as proved.

The same, in the Psalm xcvi. All that ever we speak, we ought to prove it by the Scriptures.

The same, in the Psalm lxxxvi. *The Lord shall speak in the Scriptures of the people, &c.* And how shall he speak? Not with words, but with *Scriptures of those princes that were in it*; that is, of the Apostles and Evangelists. And mark what he saith, *Of those princes that were in it*, and not 'which are.' So that, the Apostles except, whatsoever shall be spoken afterward, let it be cut off, and have none authority. Be a man therefore never so holy, be he never so well learned, after the Apostles he hath none authority; for the Lord speaketh in the *Scriptures of those princes that were in it*.

AMBROSIUS, Of Virgins, lib. iii. cap. 1. We justly do condemn all new things, which Christ hath not taught; for Christ is the way to the faithful. If therefore we ourselves

which Christ hath not taught, is damnable. preach any thing that Christ hath not taught, judge that abominable.

The soul liveth only by the word of God. The same, in the Psalm cxviii. The word of God is the lively meat of our souls, with the which it is nourished, fed, and governed; neither is there any thing else that maketh a reasonable soul to live, but the word of God.

Nothing is to be added to the word of God, although it be for a good purpose. The same, in his book of Paradise, chap. 12. By that which Eva added to the word of God, *Thou shalt not touch,* &c. we do learn how much this present lesson putteth us in remembrance, that we ought to add nothing to the word of God, yea, though it be for a good purpose. For if thou put to, or take away any thing, it appeareth to be a transgression of the commandment; for there ought nothing to be added, although it seem good.

As well who preacheth beside the Gospel, as against it, is accursed. The same, in the Epistle to the Galatians, chap. i. Neither saith the Apostle, If they preach contrary; but, *If they preach any thing besides that that we have preached,* (that is, if they add any thing to it at all,) *hold them accursed.* Neither do I except myself, if I put to any thing beside that which was preached afore.

Even the Apostles, preaching besides the Gospel, are not to be believed. The same, in the same place. He doth affirm the gospel, which he had preached unto them, to be so firm and true, that although it should chance themselves, that is to say, the Apostles, being changed, to preach any other thing, he teacheth that they ought not to be heard.

Christ made all to be written that he would we should read. AUGUSTINE, Of the Consent of the Evangelists. He that sent the Prophets before his Incarnation, the same sent also his Apostles after his Ascension; yea, and by that manhood which he took upon Him, He is the head of all his disciples, which are members of his body: therefore, forasmuch as they wrote those things which He showed and taught them, it ought not to be said, that He wrote them not, seeing that his members wrote that which they knew by their Head teaching them. For whatsoever he would have us to read, both of his deeds and words, that commanded He them to write, as his hands of his body. Whosoever doth perceive this fellowship of unity, and agreement of members,

We are as well bound to believe that which the Apostles wrote, as though Christ had written it

ministering under one head in diverse offices, he shall none <sup>with his own hand.</sup> other ways take that that he readeth in the gospel, the disciples declaring it, than if he had seen the very hand of the Lord, which he bare in his own body, writing it.

The same, to Vincent, against the Donatists, the 6th tom. <sup>The Church is known by the Scripture.</sup> p. 116. Epist. 48. We therefore, for this cause, are certain and sure, that no man ought to withdraw himself from the communion of all men. And let none of us seek the Church in our own righteousness, but in the holy Scripture.

The same, to the Mandarens, Epist. 42. All that ever <sup>All that concerneth true religion is contained in the Scripture.</sup> our elders made mention of to be done towards mankind in times past, and delivered to us, all things also which we see, and deliver to our posterity, which do appertain to getting and maintaining of true religion, the Scripture of God did not pass with silence.

Again, to the brethren in the wilderness. Read the holy <sup>The word written is enough for our salvation.</sup> Scripture, wherein ye shall find fully what is to be followed, and what to be avoided.

The same, Of Nature and Grace, lib. i. cap. 61. I owe my consent to the canonical Scriptures only, without any refusal.

The same, upon John, 49th Treatise, chap. 11. Not all things that the Lord Jesus did, are written, as the same Evangelist witnesseth; for the Lord both did and said many things that are not written: but things were chosen out to be written, which seemed sufficient for the salvation of the believers.

The same, Against Faustus, the 23d lib. cap. 9. That <sup>No man is bound to believe farther than the holy Scriptures teach.</sup> which Faustus putteth forth upon the birth of Mary, that she had a certain priest to her father of the tribe of Levi, named Joachim, because it is not canonical, it doth not bind me.

The same, Of Baptism against the Donatists, lib. ii. <sup>The balance to try the truth is the holy Scripture.</sup> cap. 6. Let us not bring deceitful balances, wherein we may weigh what we will after our own pleasure, saying, this is heavy, this is light; but let us bring the divine balances of the holy Scriptures, as of the treasures of the Lord, and in it let us weigh what is heavy; yea, let us not

weigh, but rather acknowledge the things that are weighed of the Lord.

They that sit on Moses's seat, and teach their own doctrine, are not to be believed.

Again, upon John, the 46th Treatise. Sitting upon the chair of Moses, they teach the law of God: therefore God teacheth by them. But if they will teach their own, hear them not, do not after them; for truly such men search their own, but not those things which are of Jesus Christ.

All evil is condemned by the Scripture, and all good things are there found.

Again, in the 3d lib. of the Christian Doctrine, cap. ult. How much less the abundance of gold, silver, and clothing, which that people brought with them forth of Egypt, is in comparison of the riches which afterward they had at Hierusalem; which, above all other, was showed in King Solomon: so let all knowledge, which is in deed profitably gathered out of the books of the Gentiles, be such, if it be compared to the knowledge of God's Scriptures. For whatsoever man learneth without them, if it be evil, there it is condemned; if it be profitable, there it is found. And seeing then every man shall find all things there, which he hath profitably learned other where, much more abundantly shall he find those things there which can no where at all else be learned, but only in the marvellous deepness and wonderful humility of those Scriptures.

We may lawfully dissent from all doctrine except the Scriptures only.

The same, in his book of Nature and Grace, the 61st cap. We may lawfully sometime dissent from other learning; but to the catholic learning every man must give place, every man must subscribe, whether he be layman, priest, king, or emperor.

All things that concern faith, hope, love, and good manners,

The same, in his 2d lib. of the Christian Doctrine, the 9th cap. After that he hath numbered the canonical books, he saith thus: In all these books they that fear God, and are tamed through godliness, do search the will of God. The first note of which labour and travail, as we said, is to know these books; and if as yet we cannot understand them, yet let us by reading get them in memory, or not to be altogether ignorant in them. Furthermore, those things which be plainly contained therein, whether they be precepts of living, or else of believing, are earnestly and diligently to be searched; which how many the more every

man findeth, so much the more is he apt in his understanding. In these therefore, which are evidently contained in the Scripture, are found all things which contain faith, manners of living, hope, and love.

The same, Of the Unity of the Church, 3d chap. Let us not hear, 'I say', 'Thou sayest;' but let us hear, 'Thus saith the Lord.' There are, out of doubt, the Lord's books, to the authority whereof we both consent, we both believe, we both serve. Let us search the Church there, let us discuss our cause there.

Not what we say, but what the Lord, that must be heard. The Church is known by the Scriptures.

Again, in his second book of Baptism, against the Donatists, the 3d chap. Who is he that knoweth not, that the Scripture canonical is so contained within his certain bonds of the New and Old Testament, and is so to be preferred above all latter writings of bishops, that a man may not at all either doubt or dispute of it, whether any thing be true or right, that he is sure is written in it? but the letters of all other bishops, which are, or shall be hereafter, written, besides the canonical Scriptures already confirmed, may be reprov'd, either by more grave authority of other bishops or learned men, and by the words of every man that is better seen in the matter.

We may doubt of all men's doctrine, but not of holy Scriptures.

Again, in his second book of the Merits and Forgiveness of Sins, cap. ult. tom. vii. Where disputation is had of a doubtful matter, if the certain and clear doctrine of the Scriptures of God do not help it, man's reason ought to stay itself, nothing leaning to either part. For though I know not how to express every one of these things, yet I believe surely that the Scriptures of God should be most plain herein, if a man might not be ignorant hereof without the loss of that salvation that is promised him.

If God's Scriptures cannot discuss a matter in doubt, let man never go about to discuss it.

Again, in his book of Pastors. He appointed the hills of Israel, the authors of the Scriptures of God; feed there, that you may feed safely. Whatsoever you hear out of that, let it savour well to you; whatsoever is besides that, refuse it, lest you wander into clouds. Get you to the hills of the Scriptures, there be the pleasures of your hearts, there is no noisome, hurtful, or venomous things,

Who feedeth with the Scriptures, feedeth safely. Other therefore, with Unwritten Verities feed untruly.

no inconvenient things, there be most plentiful pastures.

In the  
Scripture  
are all  
things ne-  
cessary for  
faith and  
good life;  
which two  
suffice for  
salvation.

Again, Of Christian Doctrine, 2d lib. cap. 9. In these things that be plainly set forth in the Scriptures, are found all things that contain faith and manners of living; that is to wit, hope and charity. Then, after a certain familiarity had with the speech of the Scripture of God, we must go to expound and discuss those things that be dark, that, to give light to dark speeches, examples may be taken out of the more plain places, and some testimonies of places, being certain, may take away the doubt of the uncertain sentences.

Again, Of the Christian Doctrine, the 3d lib. cap. 26. Dark places are to be expounded by plainer places: that is the surest way, to expound one Scripture by another.

If any  
man's say-  
ing or writ-  
ing cannot  
be proved  
by plain  
Scripture,  
or good  
reason ga-  
thered of  
the same, a  
man may  
allow or  
refuse it, as  
him liketh.

Again, to Vincente the Donatist, Epist. 48. This kind of learning (speaking of the old writers' doings) is not to be read with necessity of belief, but with liberty of judgment. And after; There, that is, in the holy Scriptures, it is not lawful to say, the author of this book perceived not the truth; but either that the book is false, or the interpreter hath erred, or thou understandest it not. But in the works of all them that come after, which be contained in innumerable books, yet in no wise to be compared to the most holy excellency of the canonical Scriptures, although in some of them be found the same truth, yet the authority is far unlike. Therefore if it fortune any thing in them to be thought to dissent from the truth, because they are not so understand as they be spoken, yet the reader or hearer hath his free judgment; so that either he may allow that that pleaseth him, or reject that which offendeth him. And therefore all such like, (except they may be defended either by good reason, or by the canonical authority, that it may be proved that they are so in deed, or may be so, because either it is there disputed or declared,) if it displease any man, or if he will not believe it, he is not to be blamed therefore.

The same, in the same place, Epist. 48. Gather not, my brother, against so many, so clear, and so undoubted wit-



nesses of the Scriptures, sentences misunderstood out of the writings of bishops, either of ours, or of Hilary, or Cyprian, bishop and martyr of the Church; for we must put a diversity betwixt this kind of writing and the canonical Scriptures. For these are not so to be read, as though a witness might be alleged out of them, so that no man might think otherwise, if they fortune to judge otherwise than the truth requireth.

The old writers are not of such authority, but that we may deny them, if they dissent from the holy Scriptures.

The same, to Jerome. I have learned to give this reverence and honour to those only writers, which be now called canonical, that I dare be bold to believe that none of them did err any thing at all in writing. But if I find any thing in those Scriptures that seemeth contrary to the truth, I doubt not but that either the book is false, or the interpreter did not attain the thing that was spoken, or else I understand it not. But all other authors, be they never so excellent both in virtue and learning, I do so read them, not that I think it true that they wrote, because they thought so, but because they could persuade me either by other canonical Scriptures, or by some probable reasons, a thing not altogether abhorring from the truth.

We may not think all that the old Fathers did write to be true.

The same, Against Cresconius, a grammarian, lib. ii. cap. 32. I am not bound to his authority. For I do not account Cyprian's writings as canonical, but weigh them by the canonical Scriptures; and that in them which agreeth with the canonical Scriptures, I allow to his praise; but that that agreeth not, by his favour I refuse.

All men's writings ought to be weighed by the canonical Scriptures.

The same to Vincent Victor. I cannot, nor ought not to deny, that like as in mine elders, so also in my so many books, be many things, that by just judgment, without rashness, may be reproved.

He confesseth many errors in his own books and others also.

The same, in the Prologue of his book of the Trinity. Be not bound to my writings, as to the canonical Scriptures; but if thou find any thing in them which thou diddest not believe, straightway believe it: in these, that thou art not sure of, except thou certainly understand it, believe it not certainly.

Believe not his writings, except thou be sure of them by the Scriptures.

The same, to Fortunate, Epist. 198. Neither ought we

We ought not to esteem man's writings further than they agree with the Scriptures, but may refuse them at our pleasures. to allow the reasonings of any men, whatsoever they be, (although they be catholic and laudable men,) as the canonical Scriptures, so that it shall not be lawful for us, saving the reverence that is due to those men, to reprove and refuse any thing in their writings, if it chance that they have judged otherwise than truth is; the same truth, by God's help, being understand either of other men, or of us. For I am even such an one in other men's writings, as I would men should be in mine.

The same, in the same place. Let us seek no further than is written of God our Saviour, lest a man would know more than the Scriptures witness.

Understand the word written; for they that learn of it, learn of God. CYRILL, lib. vi. upon Leviticus. There be two offices of a bishop, to learn the Scriptures of God and by oft reading to digest the same, or else to teach the people; but let him teach those things which he hath learned of God, and not of his own heart, or by man's understanding, but those things which the Holy Ghost teacheth.

The same, in John, chap. vi. He saith, By this we learn, that only Christ ought to be followed as a master, and we must cleave unto him only.

All things pertaining to doctrine and good manners are in the word written, which is sufficient. The same, in John, chap. 20. Not all things that the Lord did, are written, but those things that the writers thought sufficient, as well to good manners as to doctrine; that we, shining with a constant faith, good works, and virtues, may come to the kingdom of heaven.

Note this holy Father's words, and print them in your hearts for ever. FULGENCE, in his Sermon of the Confessors. In the word of God is plenty for the strong man to eat; there is enough for the child to suck; there is also milk to drink, wherewith the tender infancy of the faithful may be nourished; and strong meat, wherewith the lusty youth of them that be perfect, may receive the spiritual encrease of holy virtue. There provision is made for the salvation of all men whom the Lord doth vouchsafe to save; there is that that is agreeable to all ages; there is also that which is meet for all states; there we learn the com-

mandments which we ought to do; there we know the rewards which we hope for.

GREGORY, in Job, lib. xvi. cap. 28. He that prepareth himself to the office of a true preacher, must needs fetch the foundation of his matters out of the holy Scriptures. So that all that he saith, he must reduce it to the first beginning of God's authority, and in that stay the effect of his sayings. For, as I have said many times afore, heretics, when they study to maintain their froward doctrine, surely they bring forth those things that are not contained in the holy Scriptures.

If preachers ought so, then so ought all others; for they all are prepared to come to one ordinary rule.

THEOPHYLACTUS, upon this place of Paul, the last to the Romans, *I beseech you, brethren, mark them which cause division, and give occasion of evil, contrary to the doctrine which you have learned, and avoid them. For they that are such, serve not the Lord Jesus Christ, but their own bellies; and with sweet preachings and flattering words deceive the hearts of the innocents.* Here saith Theophylactus, that they bring in divisions and occasions of evil, which bring forth any thing beside the doctrine and learning of the Apostles.

DAMASCENUS, lib. i. cap. 1. All that ever was delivered by the Law, the Prophets, the Apostles, and the Evangelists, we receive, acknowledge, and give reverence unto them, searching nothing besides them.

BRUNO, in the second to Timothy. Doubtless the holy Scriptures are able to instruct thee to salvation. For every Scripture being inspired from God, that is to say, spiritually understand after the will of God, is profitable to teach them that be ignorant; to reprove, that is, to convince, them that speak against the faith; to correct sinners, such as deny not themselves to be sinners; to instruct those that be yet rude and simple; to instruct, I say, in righteousness, that they may be made righteous by putting away their former in-

The Scriptures only are sufficient for matter of salvation.

structions of infidelity, I say, that he may be so taught, that, as much as in the teacher lieth, he that is taught may be the perfect man of God ; so perfect, that he may be instruct to do every good work.

If any man speak, let him speak according to the word of God, except he will be called by these names here expressed.

BEDA, in the 1st Epistle of Peter, chap. 5. *If any man speak, let him speak as the words of God*, fearing lest he say or command any thing besides the will of God, or besides that which is manifestly commanded in the holy Scriptures ; and be found as a false witness of God, or a committer of sacrilege, or a bringer in of any strange thing from the Lord's doctrine, or else leave out or pass over any thing that pleaseth God ; seeing that Christ most plainly commandeth the preachers of the truth, concerning them whom they had taught, saying, *Teach them to keep all things that I have commanded you* ; yea, even the same which he had commanded, and none other : and he commanded his preachers to command their hearers to keep, not some of these, but all.

We may not believe the general faith, except the same agree with God's word.

ANSELMUS, bishop, in his book of Virginitie, 24th chap. God's law forbiddeth to follow the steps of the catholic or universal faith any more than the judgment of the canonical truth commandeth to believe. And all other apocryphal lies, the good policies of the best learned Fathers have stablished in their decrees utterly to reject and to banish them clean, as horrible thunderings of words.

LYRANE, upon the last chap. of the Proverbs. Like as in a merchant's ship are carried divers things necessary for man's life, so in the Scripture are contained all things needful to salvation.

The truth of our faith is contained in the word written.

THOMAS OF AQUINE. The holy Scripture is the rule of our faith, whereunto it is neither lawful to add, nor take any thing away. But the truth of our faith is contained in the holy Scriptures diffusely and divers ways ; in some places darkly ; and to try out the truth of our faith by the

Scriptures, is required long study and exercise ; to the which all they cannot come that need to know the truth of the faith, the more part whereof, being occupied with other business, cannot attend to study. And therefore it was needful out of the sentences of holy Scripture to gather something into a short sum, which should be set forth for all men to believe, which is not added to the Scriptures, but rather taken out of the Scriptures.

SCOTUS, in the Prologue of Sentences, quest. 2. Question, Whether knowledge above nature, sufficient for a man in this life, be sufficiently set forth in the holy Scripture? The question is not, whether any things be true that are not written, or whether God, since the creation and redemption of the world, hath done or said any thing that is not written, and received of the Church for the holy Scripture ; but this is the question, Whether the word of God written be sufficient for our salvation ; or whether a Christian man be bound to believe any thing that cannot be proved by the holy Scripture. And this granted, that all things that may be gathered out of the Scripture, and every thing that upon any truth granted may be proved by a good argument of the Scripture, doth pertain to the holy Scripture : this granted, I say, he concludeth, that all things necessary for our salvation, are fully contained in the holy Scripture.

¶ The School authors call the stay of our faith, the truth showed of God, and contained in the Canon of the Bible.

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*That the General Councils, without the word of God, are not sufficient to make articles of our faith.*

### THE THIRD CHAPTER.

EUSEBIUS, in his Ecclesiastical History, lib. i. cap. 8. They were The head rulers of the Church, forgetting God's commands, were inflamed one against another with contention, zeal, envy, pride, malice, and hatred ; so that they thought

gathered in  
the spirit of  
pride and  
envy, and  
not in the

spirit of  
meekness  
and love.

rather, that they occupied the room of tyrants than of priests. And also, forgetting Christian humility and sincerity, they did celebrate the holy mysteries with unholy hands.

Note these  
words dili-  
gently, and  
forget them  
not.

GREGORY NAZIANZEN, to Procopius. Undoubtedly I think thus, if I must needs write the truth, that all assemblies of bishops are to be eschewed: for I never saw good end of any Synod, that did not rather bring in evils, than put them away; for the lusts of strife and desire and of lordship reign there.

Councils  
are not of  
such au-  
thority,  
that what-  
soever they  
decree must  
be holden  
for truth.

AUGUSTINE, in his lib. ii. cap. 3. against the Donatists. The Councils which are kept through every region or province, without all cloakings, ought to give place to the General Councils, which are made of all Christendom; yea, and the former General Councils ought oftentimes to be reformed by the latter Councils, if any thing in them do chance to err from the truth.

The Scrip-  
ture must  
try all.

AUGUSTINE, Against Maximinus, the Bishop of the Arians, lib. iii. cap. 4. But now neither ought I to allege the Council of Nice, nor thou the Council of Arimine, to take advantage thereby: for neither am I bound nor held by the authority of this, nor thou of that. Let matter with matter, cause with cause, or reason with reason, try the matter by the authority of Scriptures, not proper witnesses to any of us, but indifferent witnesses for us both.

Mark this.

GERSON. We ought rather believe the saying of any teacher, armed with the canonical Scripture, than the Pope's determination.

Read, ye  
papists,  
and be no  
longer ig-  
norant.

The same. More credit is to be given to a man that is singularly learned in the Scripture, bringing forth catholic authority, than to the General Council.

Councils  
may and do  
err oft-  
times.

PANORMITAN, in cap. "Significasti." A simple layman, bringing forth the Scriptures, is to be believed rather than a whole Council. For a Council may err, as it hath oftentimes erred; as did the Council of Melchidense and Aquis-

granum, of contracting of matrimony.—The Council of Constance, among other articles of John Hus and Hierome of Prague unjustly condemned, condemned also this article for heresy, That the two natures, that is, the divinity and humanity, be one Christ; which is a necessary article of our faith, expressed in the Creed of Athanasius, called *Quicunque vult*; where it is read, “The right faith is, that we be-  
 “lieve and confess that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of  
 “God, is God and man.” And a little after, “Like as the  
 “reasonable soul and the flesh is one man, so God and man  
 “is one Christ.” The same is also decreed by the Council of Nice and divers other catholic Councils, and it is the doctrine of the Church at this time. Finally, it may be proved by the express word of God; and yet these malicious clergy were not ashamed to condemn the same for an heresy.

Read the  
Psalms.

¶ Note here, gentle reader, unto what shameless and detestable heresies, their popish, yea Antichristian General Councils have fallen, of the which they boast so much that they cannot err, and whereupon chiefly they build all their errors and heresies. Moreover, the most part of the good laws and canons be in manner altogether abrogated, and no where kept: part whereof I shall express.

*Canons of the Apostles and Councils not kept nor used.*

Canon 3. Let not a bishop, priest, or deacon by any means put away his own wife under pretence of religion: but if he do, let him be excommunicated; and if he so continue, let him be deposed.

Canon 4. Let no bishop, priest, or deacon be received into another bishop's diocese, without a testimonial of his good behaviour: and when they have delivered their writings, let them be diligently examined if they be godly preachers.

¶ If these two laws were thoroughly executed by indifferent judges, being no priests, the realm of England should not swarm

<sup>a</sup> [This invective of the translator against the immoralities of the priests is the subject of a long note by Hen. Wharton; from which the following are extracts. “I am sure he hath shamefully belied the clergy of England, in accusing them of the frequent practice

so full of runagates, adulterous, and sodomical priests. For in Wales, for their cradle crowns paid to the Ordinary, they kept their concubines or harlots openly: and in England many great beneficed men keep their harlots at rack and manger without any punishment, except it be by bribing of the Ordinaries privily: and, all shame set aside, they have their own known bastards waiting upon them in sight of the whole world. But the poor purgatory priests, when they be taken in open advourtry, flee from east to west, from north to south, from diocese to diocese, and there be received without any letters testimonial at all; where they be taken for honest and chaste priests. But if the rich priests were deprived of all their promotions, so oft as they be known to be fornicators, (as they ought to be,) and the poor priests not received into any strange diocese, without testimony of his honest demeanour from his former Ordinary, you should scarcely find priests for every third benefice of England, and the priests themselves would be the first earnest suitors that they might have their lawful wives of their own: but as long as they be their own judges, (according to the old proverb, One scabbed horse knappeth another,) what for favour and friendship, what for money and for slandering of their order, they wink one at another's faults, and help to cloke the same; insomuch that within my memory, which is above thirty years, and also by information of other, that be twenty years elder than I, I could never perceive or learn that any one priest, under the Pope's kingdom, was ever punished for advourtry by his Ordinary. And yet, not long ago, a petty canon of a Cathedral Church in England was accused of sodomy, by three boys of the grammar school, to the vicedean or subdean of the same Church; a man not unlike to a monk called Jodocus, of whom Erasmus maketh mention, that he were worthy

O what a court is this, that in suspicion of heresy acquitteth no man, and in cause of adultery condemneth no priest, be

"of such beastly sins, and then affirming that he could never learn that one priest was punished for it in the space of fifty years before that time. . . . About this very time wherein this preface was wrote, Dr. Weston, although otherwise a man of great note and interest among the popish party, was deprived of the Deanery of Windsor for a single act of incontinence; and, about twenty years before this, Stokesly, Bishop of London, is by John Bale reported to have deprived John, Lord Abbot of Colchester, for an horrible act of incontinence. Indeed I know Bale to have been so great a liar, that I am not willing to take any thing of that kind upon his credit; however, his testimony may serve well enough against such another foul-mouthed writer as this E. P. seems to have been." Wharton, *Observations on Strype's Life of Cranmer.*]



to walk openly with a bell and a cockscornb, if he were not set his crime forth under the holy habit of a monk. But when he perceived <sup>never so</sup> <sup>openly</sup> that the said priest could not purge himself of the foresaid crime, <sup>known.</sup> he privily paid him his quarter's wages beforehand, and suffered him to depart without farther trial of the said crime: and now he jetteth in London, with side gown and sarcenet tippet, as good a virgin priest as the best. If I should but briefly touch all the histories that I have known of the incontinency of priests, it would grow to a work thrice greater than all my whole book, and it would make some of the proudest of them to blush, if they be not past all shame; but I will not blot my good paper with so evil matter, although they be not ashamed openly to blot and stain their own good names with crimes worthy of such reproach and ignominy.

Canon 7. Let not any bishop, priest, or deacon, in any wise take upon him any secular business: but if he do, let him be excommunicated.

¶ But now such shameless contemners they be of their own laws, which they so greatly extol and bind all other to keep, that they be hunters, falconers, stewards, surveyors, and receivers, to all great men, yea, and to the bishops themselves.

Canon 9. If any priest or deacon, or any other of the number of priesthood, do not receive at the communion, let him show his cause: if it be reasonable, let him be pardoned; if not, let him be deprived from the communion.

Canon 10. It is meet to put off from the communion all Christian men which enter into the church, and hear the Scriptures, but continue not in prayer until mass be done, nor receive there the holy communion, as disturbers of the quietness of the Church.

¶ By these two canons be subverted, and utterly overthrown, all private masses, where the priest only receiveth.

The Council of Nice, Canon 6. Let the old custom continue still in Egypt, Lybia, and Pentapoli, that the Bishop of Alexandria have power over all these; forasmuch as the Bishop of Rome hath a like custom. At Antioch also, and other provinces, let their honour be reserved to every Church.

¶ But now Antichrist of Rome, contrary to this decree, hath extolled himself above his fellow bishops, as God's vicar, yea, rather as God himself; and taketh upon him authority over kings and emperors, and sitteth in the temple of God, that is, in the consciences of men, and causeth his decrees to be more regarded than God's laws; yea, and for money he dispenseth with God's laws and all other, giving men license to break them.

The Council of Nice, Canon 20. Because there be some that kneel at their prayers on the Sunday and in Whitsun week, be it therefore ordained by this holy Council, that all men stand at their prayers, forsomuch as it is a convenient custom, fit to be kept in all Churches.

The Council of Nice, Canon 6. If any priest be found eating in a common alehouse, let him be excommunicated.

The Council of Gangrense. If any man judge that a married priest ought not to offer, as it were for his marriage sake; and for that cause do abstain from his oblation, let him be excommunicated.

¶ But now married priests be excommunicated, and except they will forsake their lawful wives, they shall be burned therefore.

Ibid. Canon 7. Forasmuch as there are some which pray standing, both on the Sunday and in Whitsun week, it is therefore ordained by this holy Council, that because it is a convenient custom, and agreeable throughout all Churches, that men should make their prayers to God standing.

¶ This law is no where kept.

The Council of Neocesaria. Let no priest be made before thirty years, yea, though he be of an honest life; but let him tarry to the time appointed: for the Lord was baptized at thirty years, and then preached.

¶ How this law is kept, the whole world may judge; for the Cardinal of Loreyn was made about the twelfth year of his age: and Pope Clement made two of his nephews cardinals, being very boys. And of late, in the Pope's kingdom, children have been made archdeacons and deans of Cathedral Churches.

The Council of Laodicia. No man may be received to baptism in Lent, after two weeks.

Ibid. Bread ought not to be offered in Lent but in the Saturday and Sunday.

¶ He speaketh of the bread of the holy communion. But who keepeth these laws ?

Ibid. Laymen ought not to sing any made and commonly used songs in the church, nor read any book beside the Canon ; but only the canonical books of the New and Old Testament.

Those books which ought to be read and received for authority, be those books which be divided from the books called Apocrypha, in the Great Bible. Unto the which St. Cyprian, Hierom, Austen, with all the old writers, agree.

¶ But the third Council of Carthage added to these the Books of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Tobie, Judith, Hester, and the Books of the Machabees ; unto which latter Council the papists cleave with tooth and nail, and thereupon stay their purgatory, praying to saints, with divers other errors and heresies, contrary to the elder and better Councils. Hereby you may most easily perceive how shamefully their General Councils have erred, as well in the judgment of the Scriptures, as also in necessary articles of our faith and good manners. Yea, and the chiefest and oldest Councils be (as Anacharsis said of the laws made by Solon for the Athenians) like to cobwebs, wherein small flies, gnats, and midges be taken and devoured of the spiders ; but great hornets and humblebees fly through and break them, without any danger or hurt. And generally there is no laws regarded, kept, or maintained among them, but such as make, as they term them, *pro pane lucrando*, that is, for their dignities, immunities, or liberties and prophets. Wherefore the words of our Saviour Christ may be rightly verified of them ; *They lay heavy and importable burdens on other men's shoulders ; but will not once move them with their finger.* For all their laws be but nets to take and kill the poor fishes, and to fill their own paunches.

*That nothing can be proved by oracles of angels touching religion.*

#### THE FOURTH CHAPTER <sup>a</sup>.

Gen. iii. Satan, being changed into a serpent, deceived our first parents; and in them cast all mankind headlong into damnation.

1 Reg. ult. I will go forth, and be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets.

¶ Read the whole chapter.

Gal. i. Though an angel from heaven preach any other gospel, &c.

The 2d to the Corinthians, chap. xi. Satan himself is changed into an angel of light.

Col. ii. Let no man make you shoot at a wrong mark, by the humbleness and holiness of angels.

The same, 4th chap. The Spirit speaketh evidently, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, and shall give heed unto spirits of error and devilish doctrine.

1 John iv. Believe not every spirit, but prove the spirits whether they are of God, or not.

Acts xvi. A certain damsel, possessed with a spirit that prophesied, met us; which brought her master and mistress much vantage with prophesying. The same followed Paul and us, and cried, saying, These are the servants of the most high God, which show unto us the way of salvation. And this did she many days: but Paul, not content, turned about, and said to the spirit, I command thee, in the name of Jesu Christ, that thou come out of her. And he came out the same hour.

CYPRIAN, Of the Simplesness of Prelates. The enemy (after the words of the Apostle) changeth himself into an angel of light, and setteth forth his servants as ministers of

<sup>a</sup> [The *Confutation* here contains several authorities which are not to be found in Cranmer's Common-place Book at the British Museum, particularly the long quotation from Lactantius.]

righteousness; affirming night for day, death for health, <sup>The Devil</sup>desperation under the colour of hope, false faith under the <sup>deceiveth</sup>pretence of faith, Antichrist under the name of Christ: so <sup>man, be-</sup>that whiles they counterfeit the like things, they make void <sup>cause he</sup>from the <sup>wandereth</sup>the truth with subtlety. This, dearly beloved brethren, <sup>word writ-</sup>cometh to pass by this means, that we resort not to the <sup>ten, and is</sup>original of the truth, nor seek the head Christ, nor keep <sup>not content</sup>therewith. the doctrine of our heavenly Master.

CYPRIANUS, in his fourth treatise of the Vanity of Idols. Filthy spirits wandering abroad, being drowned in worldly <sup>Spirits</sup>vices, after they have shrunk from heavenly virtue through <sup>work no</sup>worldly corruption, being themselves destroyed, cease not <sup>good, but</sup>to destroy other, and being infect with evil, infect other <sup>evil.</sup>with the same. These inspire the hearts of the prophets: <sup>The Devil's</sup>ever lapping up lies with the truth, they trouble men's <sup>miracles</sup>lives, disquiet their sleeps, drawing their members awry, <sup>are to work</sup>hurt their health, provoke diseases, to force men to wor- <sup>mischief.</sup>shipping of them: and this is the remedy of them when they cease to hurt. Neither have they any other study, <sup>They hurt</sup>but to call men back from God, and turn them from the <sup>most of all</sup>perceiving of true religion, to their superstition; and seeing <sup>when they</sup>they be in pain themselves, to seek those to be companions <sup>cease from</sup>of their pain, whom they have made, through their error, <sup>hurting.</sup>partakers of their sin.

LACTANTIUS, Institutionum, lib. ii. cap. 15. Corrupt and <sup>The devils</sup>damned spirits stray over all the world, and seek for ease of <sup>vex both</sup>their destruction through the destruction of men. They <sup>body and</sup>therefore fill all the world with snares, frauds, and errors; <sup>soul, to</sup>the which, because they be fine spirits, and cannot be per- <sup>cause men</sup>ceived, convey themselves into men's bodies; and being <sup>to seek to</sup>secretly hid within the body, trouble health, bring sickness, <sup>them for</sup>fray men with dreams, vex men's minds with sweat, that <sup>help, and</sup>through these harms they may force men to run to them <sup>so to be</sup>for help. The cause of all which diseases is dark to them <sup>worshipped</sup>that be ignorant in the truth; for they think they profit, <sup>as God.</sup>when they cease from hurting, which can do nothing but hurt. But they which have shrunk back from God's

service, because they be enemies and transgressors of the truth, go about to challenge to themselves the name and honour of God: not because they desire any honour, (for what honour can the damned have,) nor that they should hurt God, who cannot be hurt; but to hurt men, whom they go about to draw away from the worship and knowledge of God's true majesty, lest they should attain immortality, which they have lost through their own malice. So

Satan  
worketh  
miracles by  
images,  
and hereof  
springeth  
the wor-  
shipping of  
images.

they cover all with darkness, and compass the truth with clouds; so that they cannot know their Lord nor their Father. And that they may easily allure men, they hide themselves in the churches, and are at hand in all sacrifices. Yea, many times they work miracles; through which men, being astonied, do give to images the faith of the Godhead. Hereof it cometh, that a stone was cut in sunder with a razor by a sorcerer; and that Juno of Veia answered, that she would go to Rome; and that a ship followed the hand of Claudia; and that Juno, being robbed, and Proserpina of Locrense, and Ceres of Milet, took vengeance of those that had committed sacrilege; and Hercules of Appius, and Jupiter of Atimus, and Minerva of Cæsar. Hereof also it cometh, that a serpent delivered the city of Rome from the pestilence, being brought from Epidaure. But

The devils  
speak in  
images as  
though they  
were gods.

chiefly they deceive men in their oracles and answers; whose jugglings ungodly men cannot discern from the truth. Therefore they think that empires and victories, riches and lucky chances of things, are given of them; and, to be short, oftentimes commonwealths to be delivered from present dangers at their beck, which dangers they both declared by their answers, and being pacified with sacrifice turned away. But all these be but deceits; for seeing they know

Though  
devils pro-  
phesy truly  
of things to  
come, yet  
all is but  
deceit, to  
make men  
to worship  
them.

before the disposition of God, because they were his ministers, they thrust themselves into these businesses; so that whatsoever things either be done, or have been done, of God, they might seem chiefly to do, or have done it. And so oft as any goodness is coming at hand to any people or city, according to God's appointment, they promise that they will do it, either by miracles, dreams, or

revelations, if churches, if honours, if sacrifices be given to them. The which things being given, when that chanceth that needs must be, they get to themselves great worship. For this cause be temples vowed; for this cause be new images hallowed. And so oft as perils be at hand, for some foolish and light cause, they feign themselves angry; as Juno toward Varro. But these be the deceits of them, that Satan, under pre-  
 lurking under the names of the dead, intend to plague them tence of  
 that be alive. Wherefore, whereas that danger that is at dead men's  
 hand may be avoided, they would seem that they, being souls, de-  
 pacified, have turned it away. And if it cannot be eschewed, ceiveth  
 this they do, that it might appear to chance for the con- them that  
 tempt of them. And so they purchase to themselves great live, and  
 authority and fear among men that know them not. Some leadeth  
 men will say, Why doth God then suffer these things, them into  
 neither doth He succour so evil errors? That evil things idolatry.  
 may fight with good, that vices may be contrary to virtues,  
 that He may have some whom He may punish, and some  
 whom He may honour.

SCAPULENSIS, upon the 2d Epistle to the Thessalonians, 2d chap. Marvel not of counterfeit angels, and of the subtlety of Satan, resembling himself to Christ; seeing we Subtle Sa-  
 read a like thing in the history of Heraclides, of a monk tan feign-  
 called Valent. The Devil, saith he, changing himself into eth himself  
 the likeness of our Saviour, came to him by night, with to be Christ,  
 a company, as he feigned, of a thousand angels, hold- and wor-  
 ing burning lamps in their hands, and with a fiery cha- shipped as  
 riot, in the which he feigned our Saviour to sit. Then God.  
 one of them stept forth, and said thus unto him: 'Come How shall  
 ' forth out of thy cell now, and do nothing else, but, we then  
 ' when thou seest him come afar off, make haste to bow know any  
 ' down thyself and worship him; and so straightway certain  
 ' turn again to thine own house.' Then he went forth truth by  
 out of his house, and believing that he had seen that appari-  
 godly offices of heavenly ministers, and all shining with tions?  
 fiery lamps, and Christ, as he thought, himself not past a  
 furlong off, fell flat upon the ground, and worshipped They that  
 for Christ.

him whom he believed to be the Lord. See here, how this fearful and foolish monk Valent, leaving very Christ, worshipped Christ's enemy; and instead of the truth, a counterfeit Antichrist and Satan.

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*That apparitions of the dead be unsufficient to prove truth.*

### THE FIFTH CHAPTER.

Deut. xviii. When thou art come into the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, see that thou follow not the abominations of those nations: let there not be found among you any one that maketh his son or daughter to go through the fire, or that useth witchcraft, or a chooser of days, and that regardeth the flying of fowls, or a sorcerer, or a charmer, or that counselleth with spirits, or a soothsayer, or that asketh the truth at them that be dead. For the Lord abhorreth all these: and for such abominations the Lord thy God doth cast them out before thee. But the Lord thy God hath not suffered thee so to do.

Read the  
place.

Esai. viii. And if they say to you, Ask counsel at the soothsayers, witches, charmers, and conjurers, then make them this answer; Is there a people any where that asketh not counsel at his God? should men run unto the dead for the living? If any man want light, let him look upon the law and the testimony, whether they speak after this meaning.

Read the  
chapter.

Luke xvi. If they hear not Moses and the Prophets, neither will they believe if one arise from death.

He laugh-  
eth their  
foolishness  
to scorn.

LACTANTIUS, in his Institutions, lib. ii. cap. 2. The rude sort think that men's souls walk about the graves and relics of their bodies.

The Scrip-  
ture ought  
to be be-  
lieved ra-

CHRYSOSTOME, in his 4th Homily of Lazarus. That thou mayest know that the doctrines of the Scriptures and Prophets are of more force, than if they that be raised from



death should tell any thing ; consider this, that whosoever is dead, is a servant. But what the Scriptures speak, the Lord himself speaketh : therefore though a dead man arise, yea, although an angel come down from heaven, yet chiefly we ought to believe the Scriptures ; for He that is Master of Angels, and Lord of the quick and the dead, made them. If dead men should come again from thence unto us, the Devil might have brought to us false doctrines, and that very easily. For he might have showed oftentimes ghosts, and have suborned men that should counterfeit death and burial, and within a while after show themselves as though they were raised again from death ; and through them to persuade the people, so beguiled, whatsoever him list. For if now, when no such thing is done in deed, yet dreams seen of many men in their sleep, as though it were of them that are departed hence, have deceived, destroyed, and overthrown many men ; much more it should have chanced, if the thing had been done in deed, and gotten credit in men's minds ; that is to say, if many of the dead had returned again to life, that wicked Devil would have wrought innumerable deceits, and brought much fraud into the life of men. And for that cause God hath shut up that way, neither doth He suffer any of the dead to come again hither, to tell what is done there ; lest he by that means should bring in all his wiles and subtleties. For when there were Prophets, he stirred up false Prophets ; when the Apostles were, false Apostles ; when Christ appeared, he raised false Christs ; when sound doctrine was brought in, he brought in corrupt doctrine, sowing cockle every where. But God, from whom nothing is hid, hath stopped his way to those snares ; and He, favouring us, hath not suffered that any soul at any time should come from thence hither, to tell what is there done to any men living, teaching us that we should rather believe the Scriptures than all other things.

ther than the testimony of the dead ; for it is God's own word, and the other oftentimes the Devil's.

The dead never return after the death to tell their state that be dead.

The Scripture is to be believed above all things.

The same, in Matthew, chap. viii. Hom. 2. 9. I will not deny but that men have been killed of cursed charmers and sorcerers ; but that dead men's souls work with them, how shall they make me believe that ? Because thou hast heard

dead men's souls many times cry, 'I am the soul of such a one.' Yea, but these words proceed out of the fraud and deceit of the Devil. For it is not the dead man's soul that saith this, but the Devil that feigneth this, that he may deceive the hearers. For these ought to be taken as old wives' fables, the words of liars, and fraybugs of children: neither can the soul, being departed from the body, walk in this earth. For the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, and the souls of sinners are straight, after their death, carried away; which is manifest by Lazarus and the rich man. The Lord saith also in another place, *This day shall they fetch away thy soul.* The soul therefore, after it be departed from the body, cannot wander here amongst us. It may be proved by many Scriptures that the souls of the righteous cannot wander here after their death. For Stephen said, *Lord, receive my spirit.* And Paul desired to be *loosed from the body, and to be with Christ.* Of the Patriarchs also the Scripture saith, *He was laid up with his fathers; he died in a good age.* And that the souls of sinners cannot tarry here with us, hearken to the rich man, what he saith; consider what he asketh, and obtaineth not. But if men's souls might be conversant here, he would have come as he desired, and have certified his brethren of the torments in hell. Of the which place of Scripture it is manifest, that, after the departure from the body, the souls are carried into a certain place, from whence they cannot return at their pleasure, but look for that terrible day of judgment.

It is not the soul of the dead that saith, I am such a man's soul, but the Devil counterfeith the dead to deceive the living: for souls departed the body cannot walk here on earth.

HIEROME in the 8th chap. of Jeremy. If you doubt of any thing, saith the Prophet, know that it is written, that those nations which the Lord shall scatter before thy face, shall hearken to dreams and soothsayers; but the Lord thy God hath commanded thee not so to do; but if you will know things that be doubtful, give yourselves rather to the testimonies of the Law and the Scriptures. But if your congregation will not search the word of the Lord, they shall not have the light of the truth, but shall wander in

darkness of errors. You ought to know this, that every nation asketh counsel at their own gods, and inquireth of the dead for the health of the quick ; but God hath given you the law for your help, so that you may say, The soothsaying of the heathen, which deceive their worshippers, is not like ours, which is spoken out of the law, without any cost.

SAINT AUGUSTINE also saith, that the spirit of Samuel, which the woman sorcerer raised to Saul, was not the soul of Samuel, but the Devil, which appeared in Samuel's likeness, for to deceive Saul : this doth he prove both by evident Scriptures and strong reasons.

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*Neither are miracles able to prove our faith.*

### THE SIXTH CHAPTER <sup>a</sup>.

Exod. vii. viii. The wise men and enchanters of Pharaoh turned their rods into serpents, and the waters of Egypt into blood, and made all the whole land to swarm with frogs, through their sorceries.

Deut. xiii. If there arise among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and give thee a sign or a wonder, and that sign or wonder, which he hath said, come to pass, and then say, Let us go after strange gods; which thou hast not known, and let us serve them ; hearken not unto the words of that prophet, or dreamer of dreams : for the Lord thy God tempteth thee, to wete whether ye love the Lord your God with all your hearts and all your souls.

Jer. xxiii. Behold, here am I, saith the Lord, against those prophets that dare prophesy lies, and deceive my people with their vanities and miracles ; whom I never sent nor commanded.

Matt. vii. Many shall say to me in those days, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name ? have we not cast out

<sup>a</sup> [The texts here adduced are more numerous than in Cranmer's Common-place Book at the British Museum, and the quotations from the Fathers are better arranged.]

devils in thy name? And then it shall be answered them, I never knew you: depart from me, you children of iniquity.

Matt. xii. An evil and froward generation seeketh a sign, and there shall no sign be given to them, but the sign of Jonas the Prophet.

Mark xiii. Matt. xxiv. There shall arise false Christs and false prophets, and shall show great miracles and wonders; inso-much that, if it were possible, even the very elect should be deceived. But take you heed; behold, I have showed you all things before.

2 Thess. ii. The coming of that wicked one (meaning Antichrist) shall be after the working of Satan, with all lying power, signs, and wonders, and with all deceit of unrighteousness of them that shall perish; because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved. And therefore God shall send them strong delusions, that they might believe lies; that all they might be damned which believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness.

Acts viii. Simon Magus, an enchanter, by his wonders bewitched the Samaritans.

Acts xiii. Elymas the sorcerer had of long time deceived the Antiochians. Read the stories.

IRENE, lib. i. telleth of a certain juggler, called Mark, which in the sacrament of thanksgiving wonderfully deceived the simple people. For he so changed the colour of wine, that it appeared utterly to be blood; and a little wine so increased through his juggling, that the chalice was filled, and ran over.

By this example ye may judge of the popish miracles.

¶ By this juggling it is plain enough that those miracles that be alleged of many men for the real presence in the sacrament of the altar, do not confirm their error, but be very delusions of the Devil, or of his juggling ministers.

CHRYSOSTOME, in his 4. 9. Homily, upon the 24th of Matthew. Aforetime it was known which were true Christian men, and which false, by miracles. But how were the

false known? Because they could not work such or like miracles as true Christian men did; but they wrought vain things, making men to wonder, but bringing no profit at all. But the Christians did miracles which not only brought wonders, but also profit: and by these they were known, which were true Christians, and which false. But now working of miracles is utterly taken away: yea, counterfeit miracles are rather found among them that be false Christians; as Peter declareth in Clement, "Antichrist shall have full power given him to work great miracles."

True Christians work miracles profitable to the seers; but the wicked without profit at all.

The same, in his first Oration against the Jews, upon this place of Deut. xiii. *If there arise among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, &c.* That that he saith, saith Chrysostome, is this; If any prophet say, I can raise a dead man, and give sight to a blind man; obey me, let us worship devils, let us do sacrifice to idols: moreover, if a man speak thus, that he can give the blind his sight, raise the dead; yea, though he do these things, believe him not. For the Lord, trying thee, suffereth him to do them; not that he knew not thy mind, but to give thee occasion of trial, whether thou love God in deed.

God suffereth wicked men to work miracles, for the trial of the faithful.

The same, in John, chap. ii. in the end of the 22d Homily. There be some doubtless nowadays that ask, why men work no miracles now. If thou be faithful, as thou oughtest to be; if thou love Christ, as He should be loved; thou needest no miracles: for signs are given to unbelievers, and not to the faithful.

The faithful need no miracles; for signs are given to the unbelievers. 1 Cor. xiv.

AUGUSTINE, Against Faustus the Manichee, lib. xiii. cap. 5. The Scriptures, that be stablished and set forth by so great authority, ye despise: miracles you work none; which though you did, yet we would beware of you, by the Lord instructing and teaching us, saying, *There shall arise false Christs, &c.*

The same, Of the City of God, lib. xx. cap. 19. *The presence of Antichrist shall be after the working of Satan with all lying powers, as afore.* For then shall Satan be let loose, and by him Antichrist, with all his power, shall

work marvellously, but lyingly. Of the which miracles it was wont to be doubted, whether they be called lying signs and wonders for this cause, that he shall deceive man's senses with visions, so that he seemeth to do the thing that he doeth not in deed; or else, because the same, although they be true miracles, and not counterfeit, yet they draw men to believe that they cannot be done but by the power of God; whereas men know not the power of the Devil: chiefly seeing, that how great soever power he hath, he hath received it. For when fire fell down from heaven, and with one dash destroyed so great a family, with so many herds of cattle, of holy Job; and a sudden whirlwind, overthrowing his house, slew his children; these were no deceivable visions: but for every one of these it is said, *'They shall be beguiled with signs and wonders, that shall deserve to be beguiled; forsomuch as they have not received the love of the truth, that they might be saved.* Neither did the Apostle fear to say and add, *God shall send them strong delusions, that they should believe lies.* For God doth send these things, because he suffereth the Devil to do them: he indeed by his just judgment, although the Devil doeth it of a wicked and malicious purpose.

The same, Of the Unity of the Church, chap. xvi. Let them show their Church, if they can, not in the sayings and in the fame of the Africans, not in the determinations of their bishops, not in any man's reasonings, not in false signs and wonders; (for against all this we be warned and armed by God's word;) but in the things appointed in the Law, spoken afore by the Prophets, in the songs of the Psalms, in the voice of the Shepherd himself, and the preachings and painfulness of the Evangelists; that is, in the authority of the books canonical. But not so that they may gather and rehearse those things that be spoken darkly and doubtfully and figuratively, which every man may understand as he list, after his own mind. For such things cannot be understood and expounded rightly, except those things that be very plainly spoken, be perceived before with a constant faith. Let him not say this is true, because I say it, or

All doctrine ought to be tried by the canonical in plain sense, and not by words that be dark, doubtful, or figurative.

because my companion saith thus, or these my companions, or these our bishops, clerks, or laymen; or else, it is true, because such miracles did Donatus, Pontius, or what soever other; or else, because men pray at the tombs of our dead men, and be heard; or because these and these things chanced there; or that this brother of ours, or this sister of ours, saw such a vision; either waking or sleeping, in his dream, saw such a vision or sight. Away with these. Either they be feignings of lying men, or the wonders of deceitful devils. For either they are not true that are spoken, or, if any miracles be done among heretics, we ought the more to take heed of them, because that when the Lord had said there should come some, that by working divers miracles should *deceive, if it were possible, the very elect*, he added, and earnestly setting forth the thing, said, *Behold, I have told you before*. Whereof the Apostle, admonishing them, speaketh plainly, that *in the latter times men should depart from the faith, giving heed to spirits of error, and doctrines of devils*. Furthermore, if any man be heard praying at the tombs of heretics, he receiveth, whether it be good or evil, not for the merit of the place, but for the merit of his desire. For *the Spirit of the Lord*, as it is written, *fillet the whole world*; and the earnest ear heareth all things: and many be heard of God when he is angry; of whom the Apostle saith, *He had given them up to their hearts' desire*. And God to many whom he favoureth, giveth not what they would, that he may give them that which is profitable: wherefore saith the same Apostle of the sting of his flesh, the messenger of Satan, (which, he said, was given him to buffet him, lest he should be exalted above measure by the greatness of revelations,) *For the which I prayed the Lord thrice, that he would take it away from me*. And he said unto me, *My grace is sufficient for thee: for my strength is made perfect through weakness*. Do we not read, that many men were heard of God himself in the high places of Jewry? which high places nevertheless so displeased God, that kings which destroyed them not were blamed, and kings that destroyed them

Miracles  
showed at  
the tombs  
of saints  
prove no  
doctrine.

Visions  
seen either  
in dreams,  
or being  
awake,  
cannot  
make any  
doctrine.

Men be  
heard at the  
tombs of  
heretics,  
and yet is  
not their  
doctrine  
true.

The Devil  
worketh  
miracles in  
the temples  
and idols of  
the Gen-  
tiles, al-  
though  
their reli-  
gion be  
false and  
detestable.

Men ought  
to prove  
themselves  
to be the  
true Church  
by none  
other  
men's, but  
by the  
Scriptures  
only.

Neither  
miracles  
nor agree-  
ment of  
bishops in  
doctrine  
prove any  
thing in  
religion.

were praised. But this ought to be understand, that the desire of him that prayeth is more worthy, or of more strength, than the place of prayer. But of false visions let them read what is written, both that Satan doth change himself into an angel of light, and that their dreams have deceived many men. Let them also hear what the heathen tell of their temples and gods, wonderfully either done or seen; and yet, nevertheless, the gods of the heathen be devils, but the Lord made the heavens. Therefore many men be heard, and after many divers sorts, not only catholic Christians, but also painims and Jews and heretics, given to divers errors and superstitions: doubtless they are heard, either of deceitful spirits, which nevertheless do nothing except they be permitted, God highly and unspeakably judging what is meet to be given to every man; or else of God himself, either for the punishment of malice, or the comfort of misery, or for the admonishment of eternal salvation. But to that eternal salvation cometh no man, but he that hath the head Christ: yea, and no man can have the head Christ, which is not in his body the Church; which Church, like as the Head itself, we must know in the canonical Scriptures, and not to seek it in divers rumours and opinions of men, not in facts, sayings, and sights, &c. Let all this sort of them be chaff, and not give sentence aforehand against the wheat, if they be the Church. But whether they be the Church, let them show none other ways but by the canonical books of the holy Scriptures. For neither do we say that men ought to believe us, because we are in the catholic Church of Christ; or because Optatus, Bishop of Milivet, or Ambrose, Bishop of Milane, or that innumerable other bishops of our congregation, do allow this doctrine that we keep; or because in Churches of our companions it is preached; or else, because that through the whole world, in those holy places where our congregations resort, so many wonders, either of hearings or of healings, be done; so that bodies of martyrs, being hid so many years, (which, if they will ask, they may learn of many,) were showed to Ambrose; or that at those bodies a certain



man, being many years blind, well known to the whole city of Milane, received his eyes and his sight; or because he, being in a dream, did see; or he, being rapt in spirit, did hear, either that he should not go to the part of the Donatists, or that he should depart from their opinion. Whatsoever such things be done in the catholic Church, the Church is not therefore proved catholic, because these be done in it. The Lord Jesus himself, when he was risen from death, and offered his own body to be seen with the eyes, and handled with the hands of his Apostles, lest they should then think themselves to be deceived, he rather judged that they ought to be stablished by the witnesses of the Law, Prophets, and Psalms, showing those things to be fulfilled in him that were spoken so long before: so he set forth his Church, bidding repentance and forgiveness of sins to be preached in his name through all nations, beginning at Jerusalem. That these things be written in the Law and Prophets, himself witnesseth; this is set out by word of mouth. These are the doctrines, these are the stays of our cause. We read written in the Acts of the Apostles of some faithful men, that *they searched the Scriptures, whether they were so*. What Scriptures, I pray you, but the canonical of the Law and the Prophets? To these are joined the Gospels, the Apostles' Epistles, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Apocalypse of Saint John. Search all these; bring forth some plain thing, whereby you may declare that the Church hath remained only in Africk; or that this, which the Lord saith shall come to pass, *This Gospel shall be preached to all the world, for a testimony to all nations*, shall be verified of Africk. But bring out somewhat that needeth none interpreter: whereby you may not be convinced, that the things which is spoken of another matter, you go about to wrest to your purpose.

CHRYSOStOME, Of the Contrition of the Heart. Christ promised not that he would reward at the latter day them that work signs and wonders, but them that keep his commandments; saying, *Come, you blessed children of my*

Not miracle workers, but the commandment keepers, are

called  
blessed of  
Christ.

*Father, receive that kingdom which was prepared for you from the beginning of the world.* He said not, 'Because you did miracles;' but, *Because I was hungry, &c.* He shall also call them blessed, not that wrought miracles, but the humble and meek in heart.

To work  
miracles  
maketh no  
man holy;  
nor to work  
no miracles  
hindereth  
his holi-  
ness.

CYRIL, in John, lib. vii. cap. 13. To work miracles maketh not a man one whit more holy, seeing that it is also common to evil men and abjects, as the Lord himself also witnesseth; *Many shall say to me in that day, &c.* And, contrary wise, working of no miracles hindereth not a man's holiness. For John wrought neither sign nor miracle; and yet was this no derogation to his holiness: for among the children of women there was none greater than he.

This would  
be put  
among the  
apparitions  
of the dead.  
Satan coun-  
terfeiteth  
Moses.

SABELLIC, Upon the Life of Celestine, almost five hundred years after Christ, saith: The Devil, taking upon him the person of Moses, showed himself visibly in the sight of the Jews that dwelt at Candie, promising that he would bring them again into the land of promise, where Jerusalem standeth, dryfooted, the waters standing on either side in manner of a wall, as when the children of Israel were brought out of the land of Egypt. Many of the Jews, rashly giving credit to these jugglings, and entering into the sea, were overwhelmed with the waves thereof; except a few, the which at last, being warned of their vanity, became Christians.

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*Custom also is of no strength in this case of proving a religion.*

## THE SEVENTH CHAPTER.

Exod. xxiii. Follow not the multitude to do evil.

Levit. xviii. The Lord commandeth the Israelites not to follow the customs of the Egyptians nor the Canaanites. Read the chapter.

Ezech. xx. Walk not in the statutes of your forefathers,

and keep not their ordinances, and defile not yourselves with their idols.

2 Reg. cap. xvii. Unto this day they keep their old customs; they fear not God, nor do after his customs, ordinances, and laws.

The same. They did not hearken unto the Lord, but did after their old custom.

Jerem. ix. They followed the wickedness of their own hearts, and served strange gods, as their fathers taught them.

TERTULLIAN, Of Virginitie, or Praises. Custom, for the most part, taking his beginning either of ignorance or simplicity, in process of time waxeth strong by use; and so it is alleged against the truth. Whatsoever smelleth against the truth, that is heresy; yea, though it be old custom.

CYPRIAN, unto Cæcilie, lib. ii. Epist. 3. There is no cause why, dear brother, that any man should think the custom of some men ought to be followed. If any man have thought, that only water ought to be offered in the chalice, we must first ask, whom they followed: and that Christ only ought to be heard, the Father witnesseth from heaven; saying, *This is my well beloved Son; hear him.* Wherefore, if only Christ ought to be heard, we ought not to regard what any man afore us thought to be done, but what Christ, which is before, did first: neither ought we to follow the custom of man, but the truth of God.

The same, to Julian, Of the Baptizing of Heretics. In vain do some men, when they be overcome with the truth, allege custom against us; as though custom were greater than the truth. Saint Augustine hath the same.

The same, to Pompey, Against Stephen's Epistle. Custom, without truth, is an old error: for the which cause, let us leave custom, and follow the truth.

CHRYSOSTOME, upon Gen. xxix. Hom. 59. For if the counsel be good and profitable, yea though it be not custom,

keep it, but if it be hurtful and noisome, cast it away. For if we will be wise and care for our salvation, we may leave off an evil custom and bring in a good custom, and so shall we give no small occasion to them that come after us, to change the same, and have the reward of those things that be done of them.

JEROME, in his Preface to Job. Old custom is of such force, that vices, which many men themselves confess, please them through it.

The same, the 9th chap. Neither are the errors of our fathers nor our elders to be followed, but the authority of the Scriptures, and the commandments of God that teacheth us.

AUGUSTINE, Of one only Baptism, Lib. ii. Distinct. 8. When the truth is once known, let custom give place to the truth: for who doubteth but custom ought to give place to the manifest truth?

The same, in the same place. Let no man prefer custom above truth and reason. For truth and reason do ever exclude custom.

GREGORIUS, To Guelmunde the Bishop, 2. Distinct. "Si *consuetudo.*" If thou chance to lay custom against me, thou must take heed what the Lord saith, *I am the way, the truth, and the life.* He did not say, I am custom, but the truth.

NICOLAS THE POPE, to Ignatius the reverend bishop. 8. Distinct. An evil custom is no less to be avoided, than an hurtful corruption, which except it be plucked up the sooner by the roots, it will be taken of the ungodly for a law.

*Reasons against Unwritten Verities* <sup>a</sup>.

## THE EIGHTH CHAPTER.

The Old Testament was sufficient for the Jews, and why shall not both the New and Old suffice us?

Christ and the Apostles proved all their doctrines by the Law and Prophets. What an arrogancy is it then in us, to teach any thing, which we can neither prove by the Law, the Prophets, the Apostles, nor the Evangelists.

The Devil, when he tempted Christ, was not so far past all shame to persuade any thing without the testimony of the Scriptures, although he did (as his dear children, the papists, do) falsely allege them, wrest them from their true meaning to a contrary sense, and also cut off that which

<sup>a</sup> [The Reasons against Unwritten Verities are thus stated in Cranmer's Common-place Book at the British Museum.

*“Reasons in idem.*

“If traditions apostolic have the strength of God's word, so that every man is bound to the observation of them, the Bishop of Rome hath a great advantage thereby to establish his primacy, (not such a primacy as he hath lately usurped, but such a primacy as he hath had by prerogative from the beginning,) that is to say, to be one of the four patriarchs of Christendom, and the chief of all four. And the traditions be the chief anchors whereupon Pighius stayeth himself. And furthermore, if we admit traditions to be of such authority, it is to be feared that we must resort to the Church of Rome, to fetch there our traditions, as of the oldest and the mother Church.

“Cyprianus calleth Rome, Petri cathedram, et Ecclesiam principalem.”

Here follow some other citations. The Reasons are then continued.

“The Old Testament was sufficient for the Jews, and is not both the Old and the New sufficient for us?”

“What things came by traditions from the Apostles, no man can tell certainly; and if we be bound to receive them as articles of our faith, then is our faith uncertain, for we be bound to believe we know not what.

“Faith must needs be grounded upon God's word, for St. Paul saith, *Fides ex auditu, auditus autem per verbum Dei*. Rom. x.

“*Omnis Scriptura divinitus inspiratur*, &c. This text St. John Chrysostom, Theophylactus, Thomas, with many other authors both old and new, do expound plainly as the words be, that whatsoever truth is necessary to be taught for our salvation, or the contrary to be reprov'd, whatsoever is necessary for us to do, and what to forbear and not to do, all is completely contained in the Scripture, so that a man thereby may be perfectly instructed unto all manner of goodness.” Royal MSS. 7. B. xi. p. 94. Strype, *Memorials*, vol. ii. part i. p. 138.]

should make against him, or declare the true meaning of the Scriptures.

This word, Unwritten Verities, is a new term lately invented, and never heard or read among the old writers; of which they could not have been ignorant, if there had been any such thing needful to salvation.

All contention which the old fathers had with heretics was for the Scriptures, which heretics partly denied, as Marcion, Manichæus, and Faustus, partly they wrongly expounded; but for things which are not contained in the Scriptures, they never accused any man of heresy.

If there were any word of God beside the Scripture, we could never be certain of God's word; and if we be uncertain of God's word, the Devil might bring in among us a new word, a new doctrine, a new faith, a new Church, a new god, yea himself to be god, as he hath already done in the popish kingdom. For this is the foundation of Antichrist's kingdom, to settle himself in God's temple, which is the heart and conscience of man, of him to be feared and worshipped, as though he were God himself.

If the Church and the Christian faith did not stay itself upon the word of God certain, as upon a sure and strong foundation, no man could know whether he had a right faith, and whether he were in the true Church of Christ, or in the synagogue of Satan.

If we be bound to believe certain things, delivered from the Apostles by word of mouth only, without writing, as they would make us believe, but what those things be, no man can tell, it should hereof follow, that we are bound to believe we wot not what.

Without faith it is not possible to please God, and faith cometh by hearing of God's word. *Ergo*, where God's word lacketh, there can be no faith.

Almighty God, afore he gave to Moses the law written of the Ten Commandments, (wherein he fully taught the true worshipping of him,) as it were a preservative against a plague or a poison to come, gave them this notable lesson, worthy alway to be had in memory, *You shall add nothing*

to the words, &c. and again he oftentimes repeateth the same sentence both in the Law, and the Prophets, in the Gospels, and the Epistles of the Apostles. And because his people should never forget it, St. John commandeth the same in the last words of all the New Testament, threatening terrible plagues, that is, the loss of his everlasting joys of heaven, and the pain of eternal fire of hell, to all them that either put to or take aught from the word of God.

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*Scriptures alleged by the papists for Unwritten Verities  
with answers to the same.*

### THE NINTH CHAPTER <sup>a</sup>.

#### *Argument.*

*Where two or three be gathered in my name, there am I* Matt. xviii.  
*in the midst of them.* But Christ cannot err, for He is the truth itself; *Ergo*, they cannot err in their Synods, Convocations, and General Councils, being gathered together in his name.

#### *Answer.*

Christ said, *When two or three be gathered in my name* &c. and to be gathered in his name is in our assemblies to seek his only glory and not ours, to do all things by his pre-script word. *For not every one that saith unto me, Lord,* Matt. vii.  
*Lord, shall enter, &c.* As witches, charmers, necromancers, and conjurers, use their wicked arts all in the name of God and Christ, and yet is not Christ with them. For the seven Acts xix.  
sons of Sceva, the chief priest of the Jews, went about to cast out evil spirits in the name of Jesus whom Paul preached, but yet Christ was not with them, but the wicked spirit, which wounded them and drave them away naked. Moreover all forgers of wills, counterfeiters of false instruments, and judges giving false sentences, in the ecclesiastical law, they begin with this glorious title, In the name of God,

<sup>a</sup> [The substance of the ninth and tenth chapters is in Cranmer's Common-place Book at the British Museum, but they are here much altered and enlarged. The subject of the sabbath in particular is treated at much greater length.

Amen. Therefore sprang this old proverb, In the name of God beginneth all mischief, and yet Christ is with none of these, though they pretend to do all these things in his name. Christ saith also, *Many shall prophesy in my name, and cast out devils and work miracles in my name, and then will I confess to them that I never knew you.* Read Eusebius and Athanasius, and you shall there see, what pride, contention, hatred, malice, envy, and desire to bear rule, reigned in the Councils of the clergy at those days, not much past four hundred years after Christ. What think you they would say, if they saw our Councils, where the Romish Antichrist triumpheth? No doubt, that *though an angel from heaven preach any other, &c.*

*A Replication.*

Here you will reply again, Christ saith, *Where two or three are gathered, &c.* Now in every Council are not only two or three learned and godly men, but many. *Ergo*, they cannot err.

*Answer.*

I grant that in every General Council be many good men which do not err, nor are deceived, and yet it followeth not that the whole Council cannot err. For in Councils the more part is taken for the whole, and things be there determined and ordered, not by reason, learning, and authority of the word of God, but by stoutness, wilfulness, and consent of the more part. In those Councils, where be mo evil and wicked men than good and godly, it cometh oftentimes to pass, that iniquity having the upperhand, the greater part overcometh the better, and yet the good men neither err, nor consent to these errors concluded by the wicked and the more part, but resist and speak against them to the utmost of their power, not without great danger of their lives, yea and sometimes it costeth them their lives indeed, as it is now daily seen.

*The second Argument.*

Matt. xxiii. *The Scribes and the Pharisees sit upon Moses' seat, whatsoever they bid you do, that do, but after their works do not, for they say and do not.* Here, they say, it appeareth



plainly, that Christ commandeth us to obey the heads of the Church, how evil soever their lives be.

*The first Answer.*

First, let them look well what manner men they make themselves, that is, Scribes and Pharisees, the greatest enemies of God, persecutors and murderers of his Prophets, of the Apostles, and of Christ himself, and so Antichrists.

*The second Answer.*

Secondly, Moses' seat is not his office or authority, but his doctrine, and therefore saith St. Augustine, that seat, which is his doctrine, suffereth them not to err; and in another place, They sitting in Moses' seat teach the law of God, therefore God teacheth by them. But if they will teach their own doctrine, believe them not, for such seek their own and not Jesus Christ's; and Christ biddeth us beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, and then the disciples knew that he spake not of the leaven of bread but of their doctrines, although they sat in Moses' seat, if they will needs contend the dignity or office of Moses to be Moses' seat, and yet erred shamefully in their doctrine.

*The fourth Argument.*

*Behold I am with you all the days unto the world's end.* Matt. xxviii.  
This promise was not made to the Apostles only, for they died shortly after Christ, but to the Church. *Ergo*, the Church cannot err.

*Answer.*

I beseech them to begin a little afore, and they shall plainly hear Christ himself unloose this knot. The words before are these in Mark : *Go and preach my gospel to every creature*; and in Matthew, *Go and teach all people, baptizing them in the name of the Father, of the Son, &c. teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you, and, lo, I will be with you unto the world's end.* Here you may see this promise of Christ, *I will be with you, &c.* is not absolute or universal, but given under a condition, that is, *If you preach my gospel truly, if you baptize rightly, if you teach the baptized to do all things that I have com-*

manded you, lo, then I will be with you unto the world's end. But if you teach any other gospel, or baptize otherwise, or bid them do any other thing, above that which I have commanded you, you have no promise of God, but the curse that Paul threateneth, *though we or an angel from heaven preach, &c.*

*The fifth Argument.*

John xvi. *I have yet many more things to say unto you, but you cannot bear them away now: howbeit when he is come, which is the Spirit of truth, he will lead you into all truth.* Here you may see, say the enemies of God's truth, that Christ taught not all things himself, but left many things to be taught to the disciples by the Holy Ghost after his death.

*Answer.*

Christ said not, 'I have many things to say, which I will not tell you now,' but, *which you cannot bear now*, that is, you cannot perceive or understand them now; and thus Christ himself expoundeth these words: *The Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom my Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and put you in remembrance of all things that I have said unto you*, and no new or other things. For Christ saith plainly, that he himself had taught them all before, saying, *All things that I have heard of my Father have I opened unto you.*

Moreover our Saviour in plain words sheweth what things those were, that his disciples could not understand, although he many times told them the same before. *Behold, saith he, we go up to Jerusalem, and all shall be fulfilled that are written by the Prophets of the Son of man: for he shall be delivered to the Gentiles, and shall be mocked, and despitefully entreated, and spitted on, and when they have scourged him, they will put him to death; and the third day he will rise again, and they understood none of these things. For these sayings were hid from them, so that they perceived none of the things that were spoken, although he spake to them in most plain terms.* And the

cause why they perceived not his so plain speech was this; they were yet carnal, and understood the prophecies of Christ's kingdom carnally, thinking that Christ should reign at Jerusalem like a mighty conqueror, and subdue all the Gentiles under the yoke of bondage to the Jews, so that the Jews should be lords and rulers over all the world for ever. And therefore James and John asked a petition of Jesus by their mother, that they, *her two sons, might sit* Matt. xx. *the one on his right hand, and the other on his left hand, in his kingdom*; and when he spake of his death, *Peter took* Matt. xvi. *him aside and rebuked him, saying, Master, favour thyself, this shall not happen unto thee; to whom Christ said, Go after me, Satan.* These be the things that the disciples could not then bear or understand, but thought that he had spoken some allegory, riddle, or dark speech unto them: but after his resurrection he opened their wits, that they might understand the Scriptures, and said unto them, *Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer.* And to the two disciples going to Emmaus, he expounded Moses, the Prophets, and all the Scriptures that were written of him. And after the Ascension the Holy Ghost appeared to them in fiery tongues, and filled them with all knowledge, and they began to speak with sundry tongues, as the Holy Ghost gave them utterance, and then they understood the Scriptures perfectly.

#### *The sixth Argument.*

*Many other tokens did Jesus which are not written in* John xx. *this book.* Again, *There are many other things that Jesus did, which, if they were written, I suppose the world should not be able to contain the books that should be written.*

#### *Answer.*

St. John speaketh not here of faith and charity, but of miracles, the knowledge whereof is not necessary for our salvation, as his words following do declare: *These are written, that you might believe that Jesus is Christ the Son of God, and in believing may have life in his name.* And what is more required or desired of a Christian than to

enjoy everlasting life? that ought to be our whole study and endeavour, to that end ought we to apply all our minds, words, and works, and prayers.

*The seventh Argument.*

2 Thess. ii. *Stand fast, brethren, and keep the ordinances that ye have learned, either by our preaching or by our Epistle.* Of these words they gather, that Paul taught divers things to the Thessalonians by word of mouth without writing, which nevertheless he commanded them to observe and do.

*Answer.*

I grant that Paul taught many things by word of mouth, which he wrote not in his Epistles to the Thessalonians. But how shall they prove, that the same things be neither written by him in any other of his Epistles, nor in any other place of the whole Bible? For what argument is this? It is not written in this place or to those persons; *Ergo*, it is not written in the Scripture at all. For the shortness of one epistle, or of one sermon, cannot sufficiently contain all things necessary for our salvation; and therefore be there so many books of the Scripture, that what is so omitted and not spoken of in one place, or else darkly spoken of, might be written plainly in another place. And for this cause St. Paul writeth to the Colossians, saying, *When this letter is read with you, cause it also to be read to the Laodiceans. And read you also the Epistle written from Laodicea.* And 2 Cor. x. St. Paul writeth of himself, *Such as we are in our absence by letters, such are we in deed being present.* Moreover Paul speaketh not here of doctrines of faith and charity, which ever continue without changing, adding, or minishing, but of certain traditions, observations, ceremonies, and outward rites, and bodily exercises, which, as he saith, is little worth to God-ward, but to be used for comeliness, decent order, and uniformity in the Church, and to avoid schism: which ceremonies every good man is bound to keep, lest he trouble the common order, and so break the order of charity in offending his weak brethren, so long as they be

approved, received, and used by the heads and common consent. But they, and every one of such ceremonies as be neither sacraments, nor commandments of faith and charity, may be altered and changed, and other set in their places, or else utterly taken away by the authority of princes, and other their rulers and subjects in the Church. Yea also the traditions made by the Apostles in full Council at Jerusalem, may be and already are taken away, as to abstain from things Acts xv. offered unto images, from blood and strangled, are no where kept. And this of Paul, that a man should neither pray nor preach capped, or with his head covered, is also clean abolished.

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*Doctors to the same purpose with their answers*<sup>a</sup>.

## THE TENTH CHAPTER.

### *Argument.*

TERTULLIAN, Of the Crown of a Soldier. He reciting many traditions, as, to renounce the Devil, his pomp, and

<sup>a</sup> [The following list of traditions is contained in the corresponding part of Cranmer's Common-place Book at the British Museum.

*"Traditions not written recited by Tertullian.*

"That children should be christened but two times in the year, at Easter and Whitsuntide.

"That the bishops should christen them.

"That they that should be christened should be three times put in the water the whole body.

"That by and by after they should eat milk and honey mixed together.

"That the whole week after they should not be washed.

"To offer yearly, the day of men's death, and of their birth.

"Upon the Sunday neither to fast, nor to kneel in prayer.

"And likewise from Easter to Whitsuntide.

"To make a cross upon our forehead.

*"Traditions recited by Basilus.*

"Making a cross upon them that be christened.

"To turn our face to the east when we pray.

"Consecrating of oil and water in baptism, and of him that is baptized.

"Unction with oil.

"To put them that be baptized three times in the water.

"To renounce the Devil and his angels in baptism.

*"Other authors rehearse a great number of traditions, as,*

"The fast of Lent.

To

his angels afore baptism, to dip the children thrice in the font, to give it pap of honey and milk first thing after baptism, and not to wash it in a whole week after, to offer both at the day of the burial and birth, on the Sunday neither to fast, neither to pray kneeling, nor also from Easter to Whitsuntide, crossing of our foreheads, with divers such like, saith, If thou require a law of these and other such disciplines, there can be no pretence of a law for them out of the Scriptures. But thou shalt either perceive by thyself, or learn of some other that perceiveth it, that custom being author, confirmer, conserver, and observer of faith, shall maintain and defend the cause of this tradition and custom of faith.

*Answer.*

By the Scriptures before alleged it is evidently proved, that all things requisite for our salvation be set forth in the holy books of the Bible, and that it is not lawful to put any thing thereto, under pain of everlasting damnation. The same Tertullian also, as it is afore rehearsed, saith, that there

“ To fast Wednesday and Friday.

“ Not to fast Saturday nor Sunday.

“ That a bishop should be consecrated of two or three bishops, and priests of one.

“ A bishop, priest, and deacon, shall not meddle with the business and cure of worldly things, and if he do, let him be deposed.

“ If a bishop give orders in another bishop's diocese without his license, he shall be deposed, and also he that taketh orders of him.

“ Giving of *pax* after mass.

“ Consecrating of religious men.

“ And a thousand mo traditions apostolic there be, if we give credence to St. Denys, *De Ecclesiastica Hierarchia*, Ignatius, The Canons of the Apostles, *Ecclesiastica et Tripartita Historia*, Cypriane, Tertulliane, Ireneus, with other old ancient authors.

“ And yet an infinite number mo we shall be constrained to receive, if we admit this rule, which St. Augustine many times repeateth, that whatsoever is universally observed, and not written in the Scripture, nor ordained by General Councils, is a tradition coming from the Apostles.

“ As, that bishops have authority to excommunicate all persons that be manifest and obstinate sinners :

“ To admit or reject other bishops and curates presented by princes or patrons :

“ To ordain ceremonies to be observed in the Church :

“ To make laws how to proceed in excommunication, and other laws ecclesiastical, and what punishment is to be given to offenders ; and all people being within their jurisdiction, of what estate or condition soever they be, be bound to obey them.” Royal MSS. 7. B. xi. p. 92. Strype, *Memorials*, vol. ii. part i. p. 137.]

is nothing else that ought to be believed after Christ's gospel once published. Yea, all the old authors, a thousand year after Christ, and likewise almost all the new, affirm the same, and would not have us credit their sayings without the proof of God's word.

Why should we then believe Tertullian against so plain Scriptures, against the old Fathers of the Church, and also contrary to his own sayings? Yet here will I gently interpret him, so as he may both agree with the Scriptures, with the old authors, and also with himself. Tertullian speaketh here, not of doctrines of faith, hope, and charity, but of traditions, outward gestures, rites and ceremonies, which be not necessary for our salvation, but be ordained for a decent order and conformity in the Church, as is plainly showed in the answer to St. Paul in the Epistle to the Thessalonians. And that he speaketh of such rites and ceremonies it is evident. For all those that he rehearseth be mere ceremonies, and few of them kept at this day; which no man might have altered or abolished, if they had been necessarily to be kept, under pain of damnation.

*Argument.*

CYPRIAN, to Pompeius, against Stephen's Epistle. It is of no less authority that the Apostles delivered by the instruction of the Holy Ghost, than that which Christ himself delivered.

*Answer.*

CYPRIAN speaketh not here of traditions unwritten, but of such things as the Apostles delivered in their writings, as the Gospels and Epistles; like as Paul saith, *I delivered you that I received of the Lord*; which thing he wrote to them. But if they will needs understand him of things delivered by the Apostles without writing, then answer him as Tertullian.

*Argument.*

ORIGEN. In observances of the Church there be divers things which all men must needs do, and yet the reason of

them is unknown to all men. And he reciteth in manner the observances that Tertullian doth, and after he concludeth : Who can certainly tell the cause of all these things ?

*Answer.*

The answer made to Tertullian will serve Origen here.

*Argument.*

ATHANASIUS, upon the second Epistle to the Thessalonians, chap. 2. upon this place, *State et tenete.* Hereby it is plain, that Paul delivered many things without the Scripture, not written in his Epistles, but by word of mouth only. And these are worthy no less faith than the other ; therefore I do judge the tradition of the Church to be a thing worthy to be credited ; so that if any thing be delivered by it, make no farther search.

CHRYSTOMUS, in the second Epistle to the Thessalonians, chap. 2. *Stand fast, brethren, and keep the traditions, &c.* Hereof, saith Chrysostome, it is plain, that Paul delivered not all things in his Epistles, but also many things without writing, and as well those as these are worthy of like faith. Wherefore we judge the tradition of the Church worthy of credit : it is a tradition, search no farther.

EPIPHANIUS, Against Heresies, lib. ii. tom. 1. Against those that call themselves Apostles. 1 Cor. xi. xiv. xv. We must, saith he, use traditions, for all things cannot be perceived by the holy Scripture. Wherefore the holy Apostles have set forth unto us some things by the word of God, and some things by traditions, as the Apostle saith, *As I have delivered unto you, thus I teach ;* and, *Thus I have delivered in all Churches ;* and, *Thus you remember by what means I have preached unto you, except you have believed in vain.*

*Answer.*

Answer these three authors like as Tertullian is answered, saving that they allege St. Paul for their purpose, but clearly wrested from his true meaning, as it shall easily appear to every indifferent reader, that is not blinded of malice



to resist the truth ; as they may plainly perceive by the answer made to St. Paul afore. And whereas they say, that things given by word of mouth, are as well to be believed as those that be written ; they mean, that they are worthy of like credit with traditions written. For neither of both are of necessity to salvation ; but may be changed, and taken away by common consent, as it is afore said.

*Argument.*

BASIL, Of the Holy Ghost, chap. xxvii. Of those doctrines that are preached in the Church, we have some delivered us by writing, and again some we have received by the traditions of the Apostles in mystery, that is, in secret : both have like strength to godliness, neither doth any man speak against these, whatsoever he be, that hath but mean experience what the authority of the Church is. For if we, like fools, go about to reject the customs of the Church, which are not written, as things of small weight, we shall condemn those things that be needful for our salvation in the Gospel. Yea, we shall rather cut short the true preaching of faith to bare name. And he rehearseth like traditions as Tertullian did.

JEROME, Against the Luciferians. Although there were no authority of the Scriptures at all, yet the consent of the whole world, in this matter, should have the force of a law. For many other things which are observed in the Church by tradition, have obtained the authority of a law written ; as to dip the head thrice in baptism : and when they are christened, to give them first pap made of milk with honey, for a signification of their infancy : on the Sunday, and all Whitsun-week, not to kneel at their prayers.

AUGUSTINE, upon the words of Basil. Some of the ecclesiastical institutions we have received by writings ; some, through traditions from the Apostles, approved by succession ; and some use hath allowed, being strengthened by custom. Unto all which like usage and like affections of

godliness is due; of which, who will doubt, though he have but small experiences in the Scriptures? For if we set our mind to regard lightly customs of the Church, delivered us from our elders without the Scriptures, it shall easily appear to them that look earnestly thereon, how great loss Christian religion shall suffer. And he reciteth the same that Jerome doth, with divers other.

*Answer.*

These three authors, and all that make for the same purpose, be answered before in Tertullian. For not one of those things that they make mention of, are necessary for our salvation; and many of them are now taken away, and the rest which yet remain, as to dip the child thrice wholly in the water, to hallow the water, oil, and cream, or to cross it in the forehead, are not of necessity to salvation. For John baptized in Jordan, and the Chamberlain of the Queen of Ethiopia was christened in the common stream; and children in danger of life are christened of the midwife, or some other woman, without any of these ceremonies: and yet they will not deny that all these baptisms be good, and allowed of God. In Spain also they dip the child but once, as it was decreed in the Council of Tollet. And I am sure they will not say, that all the Spaniards, so many years, have wanted a thing necessary to salvation in their baptism. God also regardeth not our outward bodily gesture in our prayers, but he beholdeth the faith and earnest desire of the heart of him that prayeth, wheresoever he prayeth, and whatsoever his outward bodily gesture be.

*Argument.*

The same, Against Cresconius, a grammarian, lib. i. cap. 33. tom. 7. Although we have no certain example of this matter in the canonical Scripture, yet nevertheless the truth of the same Scriptures in this matter is retained of us; when we do that that the whole Church alloweth; which Church the authority of the Scriptures commend. And forasmuch as the holy Scripture can deceive no man; whoso feareth to be deceived with any dark speaking of it, let him ask

counsel at the Church therein, which, without any doubt, the holy Scripture doth show.

*Answer.*

The answer is easy. Austen was more circumspect than to think, that any doctrine might be proved by use and custom without the Scripture. For baptism of infants he bringeth in this text, *Except a man be born again of water and the Holy Ghost, he cannot be my disciple*. And because the Donatists, like as the Anabaptists do now, wrest this to them that be of years of discretion; against this exposition, he allegeth the manner of the Church in christening of infants. By the which he proveth that the Church hath alway taken this sentence, *Except a man be born again*, to be spoken also of infants. What manner of argument should this be of Austen? The exposition of the Scripture, and the use of the sacraments, may be judged by the custom used in the holy Church alway: *Ergo*, the Church may make a new sacrament, and ordain any new article of our faith, without the Scripture. By the sentences before cited of Austen himself, it may be easily judged. I also grant, that every exposition of the Scripture, whereinsoever the old, holy, and true Church did agree, is necessary to be believed. But our controversy here is, whether any thing ought to be believed of necessity without the Scripture.

*Argument.*

The same, Against the Epistle of Fundament, cap. v. tom. 6. I would not believe the Gospel, but that the authority of the Church moveth me. *Ergo*, say they, whatsoever the Church saith, we must needs believe them as well as the Gospel.

*Answer.*

This argument is naught; for the testimony of the Church is but as a public office of a record, as the exchequer, the court of the rolls, the office of a recorder or a register of all Christendom; in which office men may search and have, of the keepers of such offices, the true copies of such lands or other moveables, as be due to them by the law. And yet may neither the registers, recorders, stewards of courts, or

town clerks put to or take away any thing from the first original writings ; no, nor the judge himself. But all things ought to be judged by those writings. So likewise we believe the holy Canon of the Bible, because that the primitive Church of the Apostles, and eldest writers, and next to their time, approved them in their register, that is, in their writings, which partly saw them, and partly heard them of the Apostles. And more receive we not, because these old Fathers of the first Church testify in their books, that there was no more than these required to be believed as the Scripture of God. And yet were these writings no less true, afore they were allowed by them, than since, Christ witnessing and saying, *I seek no witness of man.*

*Argument.*

AUSTIN, to Cassulane. In these things, wherein the Scripture of God hath determined nothing, the custom of the people and our elders' ordinances ought to be holden as a law : and the transgressors of the customs of the Church are likewise to be punished as the breakers of God's law. Of which things if thou wilt dispute, and reprove one custom by another, there shall arise an endless strife. He repeateth also this sentence many times : that whatsoever is universally observed, and not written in the Scripture, nor ordained by General Councils, is a tradition come from the Apostles.

*Answer.*

Answer him as Tertullian : and yet of all other authors he is most plain, that nothing is of necessity to salvation besides the Scriptures of God. But let us grant for their pleasures, that those customs, which they speak of, be traditions apostolic ; yet they be no longer nor other ways to be observed, than the traditions apostolic written. Which, as is before fully proved, may (and are already) be both changed, and clearly taken away. And as concerning custom, it is plainly proved, that it is not to be received against the Scripture, truth, or reason.

*Argument.*

They say, moreover, that the perpetual virginity of our Lady is to be believed of necessity, as Cyprian, Chrysostom, Jerome, Ambrose, Austen, and all other speaking thereof say. But this is not found in the Scripture: *Ergo*, there is something to be believed, that is not written in the Scripture.

*Answer.*

The minor, that is to say, that this is not written in the Scripture, is false. For, first, none of the old authors that rehearse traditions of the Apostles unwritten, make mention of the perpetual virginity of our Lady to be one of them; but they rehearse only divers ceremonies, or bodily gestures, and such rites used in baptism, prayers, holydays, and fastings: which, as I have manifestly declared, are not necessary to salvation, but the most part of them are clean taken away, and the contrary commanded and used by the universal Church. Moreover, all the said authors prove her perpetual virginity by this text of Scripture, Ezech. xlv. *This door shall be still shut, and not opened for any man to go through it; but only for the Lord God of Israel: yea, he shall go through it, else shall it be shut still.* For if these, and such other Fathers, had not judged her perpetual virginity to have been written in the Scriptures, they would never have judged it to have been a thing to be believed under pain of damnation. Saint Jerome also calleth Helvidium a rash and an ungodly man, because that he taught that our Lady had other children by Joseph, after Christ's birth; which doctrine he could not prove by the Scriptures of God. In like manner we call all them that preach any doctrine in the Church, without the authority of God's word, both ungodly, rash, and wicked members of Antichrist.

*Argument.*

Yet they bring forth, to maintain their error, the baptism of infants, which, they say, is not contained in the Scriptures: and yet this is to be observed, upon pain of damnation of the said children. *Ergo*, there is something to be

done, of necessity to our salvation, that is not contained in the Scriptures.

*Answer.*

O what a gap these men open both to the Donatists and to the Anabaptists, that deny the baptizing of infants: for if it were not written in the word of God, no man ought to believe it, or use it. And so the Donatists' and Anabaptists' doctrine were true, and ours false. But in deed the baptism of infants is proved by the plain Scriptures. First, by the figure of the old law, which was circumcision. Infants, in the old law, were circumcised: *Ergo*, in the new law they ought to be baptized. Again; infants pertain to God, as it is said to Abraham, *I will be thy God, and the God of thy seed after thee*. Christ saith also, *Suffer children to come to me; for of such is the kingdom of heaven*. And again; *See that ye despise not one of these little ones; for their angels in heaven always behold the face of my Father, which is in heaven: for the Son of Man is come to save that that is lost*. And again, Paul saith, that *your children are holy now*. By these, and many other plain words of Scripture, it is evident that the baptism of infants is grounded upon the holy Scriptures.

Gen. xvii.  
Matt. xix.  
Luke xix.  
1 Cor. vii.

*Argument.*

Furthermore, the Church, say they, hath changed the sabbath-day into the Sunday, which sabbath was commanded by God, and never man found fault thereat. Seeing then, that the Church hath authority to change God's laws, much more it hath authority to make new laws, necessary to salvation.

*Answer.*

There be two parts of the sabbath-day: one is the outward bodily rest from all manner of labour and work; and this is mere ceremonial, and was taken away, with other sacrifices and ceremonies, by Christ at the preaching of the Gospel. The other part of the sabbath-day is the inward rest, or ceasing from sin, from our own wills and lusts, and to do only God's will and commandments. Of this part

speakeeth the Prophet Esai: *He that taketh heed that he unhallow not the sabbath-day, is he that keepeth himself that he do no evil: and they that hold greatly of the thing that pleaseth me, and keep my covenant, unto them will I give an everlasting name, that shall not perish.* And moreover, the same Prophet saith, *If thou turn thy feet from the sabbath, so that thou do not the thing which pleaseth thyself in my holy day, then shalt thou be called unto the pleasant, holy, and glorious sabbath of the Lord, where thou shalt be in honour; so that thou do not after thine own imaginations, neither seek thine own will, nor speak thine own words. Then shalt thou have thy pleasure in the Lord, which shall carry thee high above the earth, and feed thee with the heritage of Jacob thy father: for the Lord's own mouth hath spoken it.* This spiritual sabbath, that is, to abstain from sin, and to do good, are all men bound to keep all the days of their life, and not only on the sabbath-day. And this spiritual sabbath may no man alter nor change, no, not the whole Church.

That the outer observing of the sabbath is mere ceremonial, Saint Paul writeth plainly, as that the holy days of the new moon and of the sabbath-days are nothing but shadows of things to come.

And that the outward bodily rest is a mere ceremonial precept, St. Austin also affirmeth, saying, that among all the ten commandments, this only that is spoken of the sabbath, is commanded figuratively; but all the other commandments we must observe plainly, as they be commanded, without any figure of speech.

Jerome also, to the Galatians, iv. according to the same, saith, Lest the congregation of the people, without good order, should diminish the faith in Christ, therefore certain days were appointed, wherein we should come together: not that that day is holier than the other, in which we come together, but that, whatsoever day we assemble in, there might arise greater joy by the sight of one of us to another.

But he that will answer wittily to the question propounded, <sup>To the</sup> affirmeth all the days to be like, and not that Christ is cru- <sup>perfect</sup> Christian

all days be  
like, and  
every day  
is Good  
Friday,  
every day  
is Easter-  
day, and  
we eat his  
flesh al-  
ways.

cified only on Good Friday, and riseth only on the Sunday ; but that every day is the day of the Lord's resurrection, and we eat his flesh always. But fastings and comings together were ordained of wise men for them that give themselves rather to the world than to God, that cannot, yea, for them that will not, come there at all, there to make their sacrifice of prayers to God in the face of all the people.

Hereby you may easily perceive, that the Church hath not changed the spiritual part of the sabbath, which is to cease from vice and sin ; but the ceremonial part of the sabbath only, which was abrogate and taken away, with other ceremonies of Moses' law, by Christ, at the full preaching of the Gospel. In place whereof the Church hath ordained the Sunday, for causes aforesaid<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> [The following are some extracts from Cranmer's Common-place Book in the British Museum relating to the subject of this chapter.

*" Novæ doctrinæ.*

" Quod sacerdos sit qui non vivat ex doctrina verbi, sed ex missis quæ pro defunctis celebrantur.

" Missa de scala cœli. Missa satisfactoria.

" Indulgentiæ. Jubileus.

" Communicatio sub una specie.

" Satisfactio.

*" In cæremoniis fere omnibus Judæos imitatur.*

" Pro ephodo lineo, habemus superpellicia.

" Pro sacrificiis, fecimus ex missa sacrificium, ne sacerdotes nostri non essent sacrifici.

" Habemus et asyla pro locis refugii.

" Habemus basilicas consecratas, cum altaribus, calicibus, vestibus, et reliquis utensilibus, ad divinum cultum pertinentibus.

" Habemus etiam hæc omnia, oleo peruncta.

" Quin et sacerdotes ac reliqui ministri, oleo imbuuntur, et consecrantur more Mosaico. *De Consecratione*, dist. i. cap. 1<sup>o</sup>. et 3<sup>o</sup>.

" Non licet offerre, nisi in loco consecrato. *De Consecratione*, dist. 2.

" 'Sicut non alii,' quia scriptum est, *Vide ne offeras holocausta tua in omni loco quem videris, sed in omni loco quem elegerit Dominus Deus tuus.*

" Festum dedicationis octo diebus celebramus, sicut Judæi. *De Consecratione*, dist. 1. 'Solemnitates.'

" Quod autem octo diebus Encænias sint celebranda, in libro Regum (peracta dedicatione templi) reperies.

" Habemus et velum atrii domus Domini, sicut Judæi. *De Consecratione*, dist. 1. 'Nemo.'

" Sicut solis sacerdotibus et Levitis licebat contrectare vasa sacra templi, ita et nunc. *De Consecratione*, dist. 1. 'In sancta.'

" Nec in alios usus licet vestibus sacris frui, quam in sacros. *De Consecratione*, dist. 1. 'Vestimenta' et 'Ad nuptiarum.'" Royal MSS. 7. B. xi. p. 101.]



*The papists' objections, with answers unto them.*

## THE ELEVENTH CHAPTER<sup>a</sup>.

### *Argument.*

Moreover, they boast themselves of the certainty of their doctrine, and prove it to be true by the long continuance thereof, and lucky prosperity of their kingdom : and their adversaries' doctrine to be false, by the persecutions, plagues, miseries, and afflictions, which they daily suffer for their doctrine's sake.

### *Answer.*

If the trial of true religion should rest upon antiquity of time, or upon worldly prosperity, then should the gentiles and pagans have a great advantage of us Christians, and their religion should be better than ours, by the testimonies of our own Scriptures. For idolatry and worshipping of false gods and their images was used long before the law of God, written and given to Moses ; in which errors and idolatry the heathen continue unto this day, in great prosperity and wealth, under most victorious emperors and princes : whereas the true Church of Christ hath been most miserably afflicted from time to time ; first under the Egyptians ; after by the Philistines, Cananites, Pheresites, &c. ; then by the Babylonians, Assyrians, Medes, Persians, Syrians, and Romans, both subdued, conquest, and led away captives. And, last of all, by the Turk and the Pope, the two horns of Antichrist, the true Church of Christ hath been most cruelly persecuted unto death, with prison, famine, water, fire, fagot, and sword, these seven or eight hundred years last past. Which Turk and Pope, although they be mortal enemies the one to the other, yet as Herod, Pilate, the Bishops, Scribes, and Pharisees, although they were utter foes each to the other, conspired against innocent Christ, causeless condemning him to death on the cross ; in like manner, I say, the Pope and the Turk do fully agree in this one point, to persecute and murder Christ in his faithful members. For as the sun can-

<sup>a</sup> [This concluding chapter was clearly not written by Cranmer. For, to omit other internal evidence, a book is mentioned in p. 237, which was not published till after his death, namely, "a notable work" of Rodolph Gualter, "now of late translated into English." See Ames, *Typogr. Antiq.* vol. iii. p. 60. ed. Dibdin. No trace of the chapter is to be found in the Archbishop's Common-place Book at the British Museum.]

Christ's  
badge.

not be without his brightness, nor the fire without his heat, so cannot the true Church of God be long without the cross of persecution, as witnesseth St. Paul; *All they that will live godly in Jesus Christ shall suffer persecution.* And our Saviour Christ saith plainly, that his *kingdom is not of this world.* For if they persecute me, saith he, *they shall also persecute you.* And Christ giveth not to his Apostles earthly peace in this world, but peace and quietness of conscience, joined with persecution. For if the wicked persecuted Christ himself, shall they not also persecute his servants? And if they so handled Christ, being the lively tree, what, think you, shall they do to us, his withered branches? And as the true Church of Christ can never be long without persecution, in like manner can the false Church of Satan and Antichrist never cease from persecuting, as it appeareth throughout the histories of the whole Bible. Of the tyranny and cruelty of Antichrist in persecuting of Christ's true Church, prophesied Daniel

Dan. vii.

The mark to know Antichrist by, is to prevail by persecution against God's elect saints.

Dan. viii.

And the mark of the true Church is, to be persecuted of Antichrist.

long before. Speaking of the empire and regiment of Rome, *The fourth beast*, saith he, *shall be the fourth kingdom, which shall be greater than all other kingdoms: it shall devour, tread down, and destroy all other lands; he shall speak words against the Highest of all; he shall destroy the saints of the Most Highest, and think that he can change times and laws.* And again, he saith of Antichrist, which was a figure of Antichrist, *There shall arise a king unshamefaced of face; he shall be wise in dark speaking; he shall be mighty and strong, but not in his own strength; he shall destroy above measure, and all that he goeth about shall prosper in his hand: his heart shall be proud, he shall slay the strong and holy people, and through his craftiness falsehood shall prosper in his hand, and many one shall he put to death in his wealthiness; he shall stand up against the Prince of princes, but he shall be slain without hands.* Of the tyranny and prosperous success of Antichrist in slaying of the saints of God, and the reward of them that be slain for the witness of God's truth, speaketh also St. John, in the sixth chapter of his Apocalypse, under the opening of the fourth and fifth seals: and in the seventeenth chapter he lively setteth forth the Pope in his own colours, under the person of the whore of Babylon being drunken with the blood of saints; pointing, as it were, with his finger, who this whore of Babylon is, and the place where she shall reign; saying, *The woman which thou sawest is that great city which reigneth over the kings of the*

Read the  
places.

*earth.* Now what other city reigned at that time, or at any time since, over the Christian kings of the earth, but only Rome? Whereof it followeth, Rome to be the seat of Antichrist, and the Pope to be very Antichrist himself. I could prove the same by many other Scriptures, old writers, and strong reasons. But forasmuch as Rodulphe Gualter hath written hereof a notable work in Latin, and now of late translated into English by J. O., I remit the reader to his book, wherein he may be fully satisfied hereof. Of the prosperity and security that the false Church hath in worldly pleasures, using the same with all greediness and voluptuousness of carnal lusts, with the wicked devices of tyranny against Christ and his true members, wherewith the ungodly daily persecute and murder God's elect for his truth, with the reward also of them that suffer for the same truth sake—it is most plainly written in the second and third chapters of the Book of Wisdom.

Read the chapters.

By these Scriptures now rehearsed it appeareth most plainly, that worldly prosperity of the Pope and his clergy prove not the truth of their doctrine; nor yet persecution of God's true preachers and other faithful people, argueth their doctrine to be false. But if thou wilt needs know, where the true Church of Christ is, and where the false, and not be deceived, herein take this for a plain and full answer, that wheresoever the word of God is truly preached, without addition of man's doctrines and traditions, and the sacraments duly ministered according to Christ's institution, there is the true Church, the very spouse of God, Christ being the head thereof. But how many, and who, of that number that hear the word of God and receive the sacraments, be God's elect Church, and true members of Christ, is known to God only; *for the Lord knoweth who be his*: and no man can tell of another man, whether he be worthy love or hatred, although their works seem never so holy and glorious afore men; so great a witch is hypocrisy.

#### *Argument.*

Last of all, to make all cock sure, and to maintain their idolatry beside, yea, and also contrary to the word of God, (as invocation and praying to saints, worshipping of images and relics, with pilgrimages and offerings, and the sacrifice of the mass for the quick and the dead, and pardons to deliver dead men's souls from purgatory, holy bread, holy water, ashes, palms, and such other baggage,) they allege revelations of angels, of our Lady, and other

saints, and dead men's souls appearing to divers men and women, bidding them to cause certain masses, trentals, pilgrimages, and offering to images and relics of this and that saint, to be done for them, and they should be delivered from the fire of purgatory, where the pains be greater, say they, than man's wit can comprehend. And when such masses, pilgrimages, with offerings to such saints' relics and images be done for them, they appear to the same persons again, saying, that by such means they be delivered out of purgatory into the eternal joys of heaven. They tell also of many wonders and strange miracles, to prove their doctrine, in all these aforesaid things, to be true. And because they have great profit and advantage thereby, they, *counting gains godliness*, have filled all their books with such vanities and lies : of which some be so fond, and so directly against God's glory, that the most earnest papists, having either learning or wit, be ashamed of them ; yea, and the Pope himself hath clean put them out of God's service, used in the Church of Rome : and yet must we read them, believe them as necessary articles of our faith, or else burn therefore like heretics.

*Answer.*

By the manifest and plain words of the Scriptures, and the consent of the most ancient authors before written, it is evident, that neither the visions of angels, apparitions of the dead, nor miracles, nor all these together joined in one, are able or sufficient to make any one new article of our faith, or stablish any thing in religion, without the express words of God ; because that all such things, as is before proved, may be, yea and have been, through God's permission, for our sins and unbelief's sake, done by the power of the Devil himself, or feigned and counterfeited of his lively members, monks and friars, with other such hypocrites.

But what shall Satan need to tell oracles, use visions, show apparitions, or work miracles nowadays ? What should he need to toil herein himself ? or why should he not, like a gentleman, take his ease in his inn ? seeing his subtle servants, monks, friars, nuns, and other Pope-holy hypocrites, can and do counterfeit such things daily, and from their beginning hath done diligently ; part whereof I shall rehearse.

John Sleidane.

About fourteen years past, at Orleance in France, the Provost's wife died, willing to be buried at the Friars in the same city,

without pomp, or other solemnity commonly used at burials. Wherefore the Friars, fearing to lose a great prey, if this should be suffered to enter into the heads of the people, caused a young friar to speak in a vault in a woman's voice, many people hearing it, and said that she was the soul of the Provost's wife, condemned in hell for contemning of the suffrages of the holy Church, commanding also her body to be cast out of Christian burial. But the Provost so bolted out the matter, that the young friar confessed the place and the manner of his speaking; and all the Friars were openly punished for that fault in the common market at Orleance.

But let us come home to our own realm of England. About thirty years past, in the borders of Wales, within a priory called Lymster, there was a young woman, called the holy maid of Lymster, which, as the fame was, lived only by angels' food, and was enclosed within a grate of iron: unto whom, certain days, when the Prior of the place said mass, the third part of the host went, hanging in the air, (by miracle, as it seemed,) from the altar, where the Prior massed, into the maid's mouth. Which thing brought the people into a great opinion of holiness in her, and caused great pilgrimage to be there used. But when the Lord of Burgavenny, with his brother Sir Edward Nevel, and divers other gentlemen and gentlewomen, came to try the truth hereof, they caused the door to be opened, and straightways the dogs fought for bones that were under her bed. Whereupon, they, searching farther, found a privy door, whereby the Prior might resort to her, and she to him, at their pleasures. And then she confessed that she made, as it were, two fine threads of her own hairs, singly tied together with fine knots; and then made a big hole with a bodkin through the corner of a quarter of the host, and fastened one end of the said hair to the corporas, where the said Prior said mass, and the other end to her own bed, wherein she lay; and tied the other hair fast to the quarter of the host, and wrapped the other end about her own finger. And when the Prior had received his portion of the host, she wound up the thread, whereto the host was tied, upon her fingers, and so conveyed the host into her mouth. This both the Prior and she confessed, and did open penance for the same.

To Saint Alban's, about twenty-eight years past, came a maid, creeping upon her knees, and leaning upon two short staves, in-

quiring after Saint Alban's bones ; affirming, that she should be made whole and go upright, so soon as she should come to the place where Saint Alban's bones were. In token whereof an angel had delivered her a key, whereby she should certainly know where his very bones were. And when she passed thus through the streets of Saint Alban's, creeping on her knees, till she came to Saint Alban's shrine, after she had made her prayers devoutly there, she took out the key of her purse, which she said an angel had delivered to her, and then she stood upright, and opened the shrine with the said key, and then kneeled again to pray and to give thanks to God and Saint Alban for her healing, and giving her strength to walk, which was born lame. And by and by the monks would have had it rung for a miracle ; but some wiser men thought it meet to try the matter better, and to examine her farther, before they tempted to ring a miracle openly. And upon her examination she said that she had been lame from her birth, declaring both her kindred and place where she was born. Upon which confession she was committed to a nunnery called Sopwel, there to tarry until messengers, which they straightway sent forth, might return, and testify the truth. And so she daily and holily visited Saint Alban's shrine. But the night before the return of the messengers she was conveyed away, and never heard of nor seen after. And the messengers declared to be lies all that ever she had said ; for there was never none born lame, nor of her name, where she said she was born.

A strange thing it is to hear of the wonderful trances and visions of Mistress Anne Wentworth, of Suffolk, which told many men the secrets of their hearts, which they thought no man could have told, but God only. She cut stomachers in pieces, and made them whole again ; and caused divers men, that spake against her delusions, to go stark mad. All which things were proved, and openly by her confessed, to be done by necromancy and the deceit of the Devil.

Elizabeth  
Barton.

O devilish  
illusion !

But yet Elizabeth Barton, called the holy maid of Courtop Street in Kent, passed all other in devilish devices : for she could, when she list, feign herself to be in a trance, disfigure her face, draw her mouth awry toward the one ear ; feigning that she was thus tormented of Satan for the sins of the people, and delivered from his power by our blessed Lady of Courtop Street, and by her led into heaven, hell, and purgatory, and there saw all the

joys and pains of those places ; and took upon her to prophesy of things to come, and of the King's death. This instrument of the Devil drew into her confederacy, both of heresy and treason, holy monks of the Charter House, obstinate (they would be called) Observant friars of Greenwich, nice nuns of Sion, black monks (both of cowls and conditions) of Christ's Church and Saint Austin's of Canterbury, knights, squires, learned men, priests, and many other : of which sort (whether they were blinded by her, or else of their own mere malice and hypocrisy dissembled the matter) some, by due proof made against them, were justly condemned both of heresy and treason, and suffered with the said Elizabeth Barton, according to their demerits ; and some, acknowledging their own offences, were delivered by the King's pardon. This wicked woman caused a letter to be made by a monk of Saint Austin's of Canterbury in golden letters, feigning the same to be delivered to her by an angel from heaven. This monster was convented both before William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas Wolsey, Cardinal and Archbishop of York : who, either because that generation of the clergy hath alway defended idolatry and superstition, or because she knew too much of their incontinency and other wickedness of living, (for she threatened them with eternal damnation, except they repented and amended their lives,) they clearly discharged her, without finding of any fault in her at all. But when the matter came to be examined by Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas Cromwell, then Master of the Rolls, they so handled the matter, that they found out the whole nest of that conspiracy ; wherein was disclosed the whole number of those confederates, their books of heresy and treason, the authors and writers of the same, and of the letter feigned to be sent from heaven. All whose detestable facts, as well of idolatry, heresy, and also of treason, were so wittily and learnedly, by God's word, convinced at Canterbury by Doctor Hethe, now Chancellor of England, (she being present, and openly confessing the same,) and also by another learned man at Paul's Cross, that the most part of them, which were before by her seduced, did then utterly abhor her shameless and abominable facts.

What a crafty point of legerdemain was played, about the beginning of King Edward's reign, by a priest ; which, being at mass, pricked his own finger, and caused it to drop upon the

Read more  
of her in  
her book  
set forth in  
print, and  
in Hall's  
Chronicle.

A letter  
forged as  
though it  
had come  
from hea-  
ven.

Bishops  
ever have  
been bol-  
sterers of  
idolatry.

A notable  
miracle.

host; persuading the people that the host bled of itself, by the miraculous working of God, for to make the world believe the body of Christ to be as really and naturally in the sacrament as he was born of the Virgin Mary his mother. For the which heinous fact, proved against him, and also by him confessed, he did open penance at Paul's Cross.

Christ  
proved  
really in  
the host by  
two horses;  
the Devil  
speaking  
in one of  
them.

I will rehearse one sermon, made in Queen Mary's beginning, by a momish monk, and so leave off their vain and wicked lies. A new upstart preacher, being some time a monk of Christ's Church in Canterbury, stept into the pulpit in St. Paul's Church, saying, that the very body of Christ is really and naturally in the sacrament of the altar; yea, by God's body is it, quoth he. And because that neither oath nor perjury can prove a good argument, he proved the same by three notable miracles. The first, of an horse refusing to eat wafers, so long as their caky god was among them. The second, by the Devil speaking in the likeness of an horse, being conjured of a priest, by God's body, to tell what he was. And the third, a maid of Northgate parish in Canterbury, who, he said, in pretence to wipe her mouth, kept the host in her handkercher: and when she came home, she put the same into a pot, close covered, and spitted in another pot; and after a few days she, looking in the one pot, found a little young pretty babe, about a shaftmond long; and the other pot was full of gored blood.

Here is goodly pulpit matters to prove new articles of our faith. For if the priests that told the stories of the two horses, or the maid that said that the bread was turned into a little child, or the monk that preached these shameful blasphemies, or the Devil himself, who is father of lies, could lie, speaking in the horse, or in any of them, then do all these foresaid miracles prove nothing his purpose. But, O merciful God, in what a miserable state were we thine afflicted members, if it were true which they say, being both enemies to Thee and to us also, for thy truth's sake? For we should not only suffer extreme miseries, as loss of our goods, good names, and the company of our dear friends in our native country; but also burn as heretics in this world, if we came in their cruel handling; and also burn eternally in the unquenchable fire of hell, if their cruel curses might take effect. Wherefore we yield Thee most hearty thanks, O Father of all mercies, and to thy Son Jesus Christ our Saviour, which hast



promised, for his sake, and in his name, thy kingdom of heaven to all them which suffer persecution for thy righteousness sake.

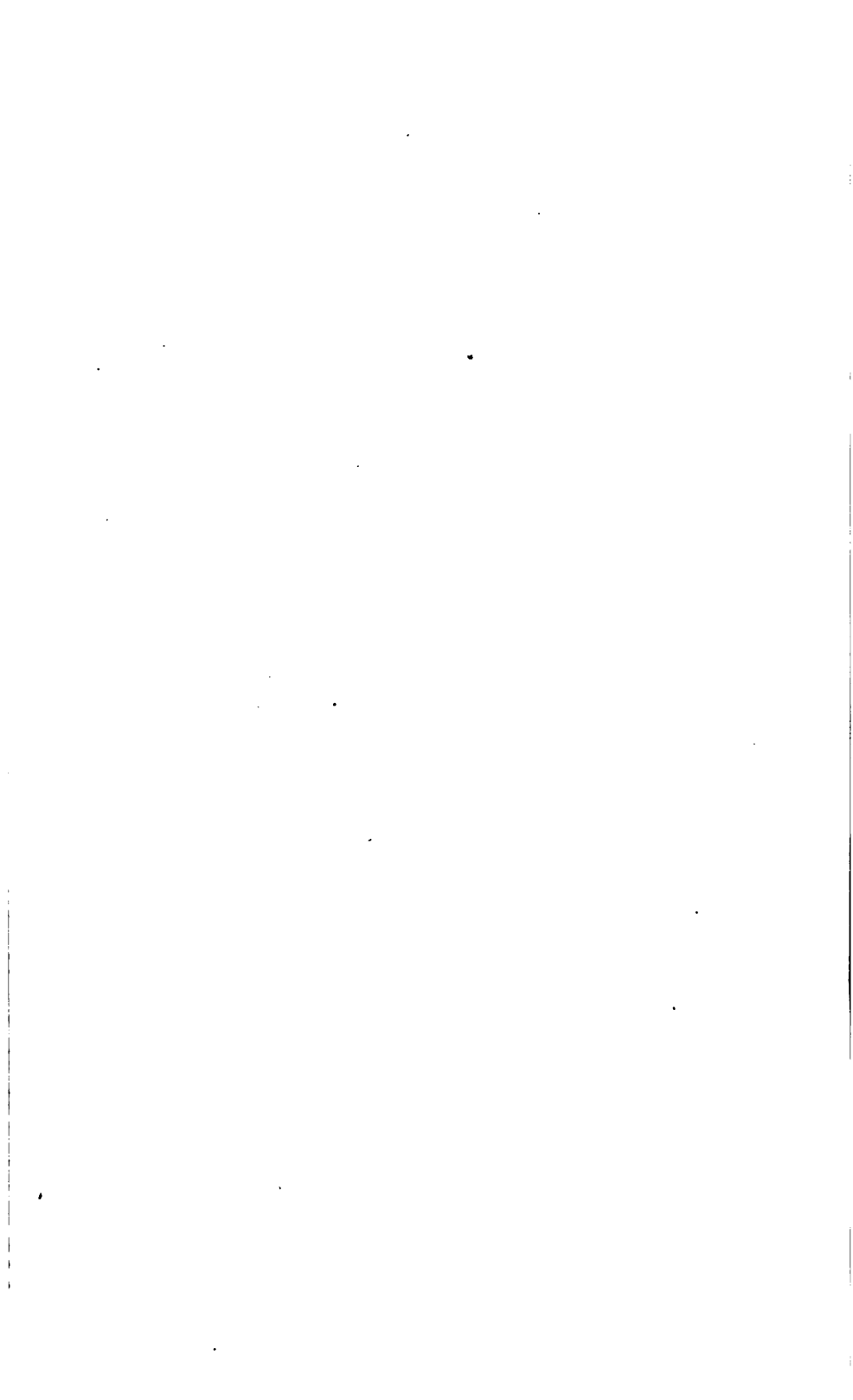
How shall we then know true visions of angels from false, true apparitions and miracles from counterfeit, but by the Scripture of God? which is the rule and true measure wherewith we must try all things; as St. John saith, *Believe not every spirit; but prove them, whether they be of God: for many false prophets are gone out into the world.* Hereby is the Spirit of God known, saith he; *every spirit which confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is of God, &c.* Whosoever therefore saith, that there is any thing that pacifieth the wrath of God, or obtaineth his favour and forgiveness of sins, but only Christ's death and passion, he denieth Christ to be come a Saviour in the flesh. Wherefore these angels, saints, souls of the dead, and miracles, that allow worshipping of saints by invocation and praying to them, the sacrifice of the mass for the quick and the dead, worshipping of images, pilgrimages, offerings to holy relics, to forgive sins, or to deliver the dead out of purgatory—deny Christ to be come an only Saviour by his flesh. For they make all these to be saviours from purgatory, or, at the least, coadjutors to help him in that office of salvation, and delivering those souls from sin and the pains due for the same; and so they cannot be of God, but of Antichrist.

Thus I have plainly, fully, and truly, without fraud of cloking, or colour of rhetoric and dark speech, to blind the eyes of the simple people, answered to all that I remember, which the papists do or can allege, either by writing, preaching, or reasoning, for the defence of their Unwritten Verities, whereupon they build so many detestable idolatries and heresies. And the same answers, if they be aptly applied and placed by a discreet and witty reader, will suffice for the answer to all that they ever have or can bring forth for the maintaining of their Unwritten and Uncertain Verities. And yet I will not be so much wedded to mine own wit or will, but that if they be able to answer so plainly and truly to the Scriptures, authors, and reasons rehearsed by me, as I have done to theirs; and to prove their doctrine of Unwritten Verities by as plain consent both of Scriptures, ancient doctors, and as pithy arguments, as I have done mine; and set it forth in print to the judgment of the whole world, as mine is—I shall not only acknowledge mine ignorance and error, but I shall gladly return into England, recant mine heresies, openly submitting myself to

such discipline and correction as they shall think meet for mine offences. But if they refuse to answer my book by writing, and, using their old trade, burn both my book and the readers thereof, let them know they shall do nothing but cut off the head of hydra. For for every heretic, as you call them, which you shall burn, will arise many faithful and constant Christians: for, except the grain or corn of wheat die, it remaineth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit. Wherefore I most heartily beseech the Father of heaven, of his infinite mercy, (if you be not indurate in your hearts with that sin, which is irremissible and shall never be forgiven in this world nor in the world to come, and resist the Holy Ghost, impugning the truth of God of you known, and defending and maintaining wicked doctrines, which your consciences bear record to be idolatries and heresies,) that He will mollify your stony hearts, and give you fleshy hearts; yea, rather, spiritual and godly hearts to worship him truly in spirit, according to his godly will, expressed in his holy word written. And I exhort all you which fear God, and be desirous to save your own souls, to flee from this whore of Babylon, and from all her detestable idolatries and heresies, not builded upon the sure rock of God's infallible word written, but upon the qualmire of Unwritten Verities; whereupon whatsoever is builded, forthwith either sinketh or quite overthroweth. And stand thou fast, and stay thy faith, whereupon thou shalt build all thy works, upon the strong rock of God's word, written and contained within the Old Testament and the New; which is able sufficiently to instruct thee in all things needful to thy salvation, and to the attainment of the kingdom of heaven. To the which I beseech the Almighty Father of heaven, of his infinite mercy and goodness, and by the merits of his only Son, our Saviour and Redeemer, Jesus Christ, through his Holy Spirit in us, bring us all. Amen.

Which is  
Rome.

# **A P P E N D I X.**



# APPENDIX.

## I.

### *Cranmer's Oaths and Protestation at his Consecration.*

IN DEI NOMINE AMEN. Per præsentis publici instrumenti *Processus contra Cranmerum in Strype, Cranm. Add. p. 1107.* seriem cunctis appareat evidenter et sit notum, quod anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo tertio, indictione sexta, regni illustrissimi metuendissimi ac invictissimi principis et domini nostri supremi Henrici octavi, Dei gratia Angliæ et Franciæ Regis, fidei defensoris, et domini Hiberniæ excellentissimi anno vicesimo quarto, mensis vero Martii die tricesimo, in domo Capitulari Collegii Regii sancti Stephani prothomartyris prope palatium Regium Westm' London' diocesis notorie situat', constitutus personaliter reverendissimus in Christo pater dominus Thomas, in Cant' Archiepiscopum (ut dicebat) electus, in mea prothonotarii Regii ac notarii subscripti, ac venerabilium virorum magistri Johannis Tregonwell legum doctoris, et Thomæ Bedyll clerici a consiliis dicti domini nostri Regis, Ricardi Gwent decretorum doctoris Curis Cantuar' Officialis principalis, et Johannis Cocks legum doctoris dicti reverendissimi patris audientiæ causarum et negotiorum Auditoris ac Vicarii in spiritualibus Generalis, testium in hac parte specialiter adhibitorum præsentia, protestationes quasdam fecit, legit, et interposuit, ac cætera fecit, prout in quadam papiri schedula, quam tunc ibidem in manibus suis tenuit et perlegit, plenius continebatur. Cujus quidem schedulæ verus tenor (nil addito vel dempto) de verbo ad verbum sequitur, et est talis.

IN DEI NOMINE AMEN. Coram vobis authentica persona et testibus fide dignis hic præsentibus, Ego Thomas in Cant' Archiepiscopum electus, dico, allego, et in his scriptis palam, publice, et expresse protestor; quod cum juramentum sive juramenta ab electis in Cant' Archiepiscopos summo Pontifici præstari solita, me ante meam consecrationem aut tempore ejusdem, pro forma potius

quam pro esse aut re obligatoria ad illam obtinend' oporteat, non est nec erit meæ voluntatis aut intentionis, per hujusmodi juramentum vel juramenta, qualitercunque verba in ipsis posita sonare videbuntur, me obligare ad aliquod ratione eorundem post hac dicendum, faciendum, aut attemptandum, quod erit aut esse videbitur contra legem Dei, vel contra illustrissimum Regem nostrum Angliæ, aut rempublicam hujus sui regni Angliæ legesve aut prærogativas ejusdem; et quod non intendo per hujusmodi juramentum aut juramenta, quovismodo me obligare, quo minus libere loqui, consulere, et consentire valeam in omnibus et singulis reformationem religionis Christianæ, gubernationem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, aut prærogativam Coronæ ejusdem reipublicæve commoditatem quoquomodo concernen', et ea ubique exequi et reformare quæ mihi in Ecclesia Anglicana reformanda videbuntur. Et secundum hanc interpretationem et intellectum hunc, et non aliter neque alio modo, dicta juramenta me præstiturum protestor et profiteor. Protestorque insuper, quodcunque juramentum sit, quod meus procurator summo Pontifici meo nomine antehac præstitit, quod non erat intentionis aut voluntatis meæ sibi aliquam dare potestatem, cujus vigore aliquod juramentum meo nomine præstare potuerit, contrarium aut repugnans juramento per me præstito aut imposterum præstando præfato illustrissimo Angliæ Regi. Et casu quo aliquod tale contrarium aut repugnans juramentum meo nomine præstitit, protestor quod illud, me inscio, et absque mea auctoritate præstitum, pro nullo et invalido esse volo. Quas protestationes in omnibus clausulis et sententiis dictorum juramentorum repetitas et reiteratas volo; a quibus per aliquod meum factum vel dictum quovismodo recedere non intendo, nec recedam; sed eas mihi semper salvas esse volo.

Super quibus omnibus et singulis præmissis, dictus reverendissimus pater me prothonotarium et notarium prædictum, unum vel plura publicum seu publica instrumentum sive instrumenta exinde conficere, ac testes superius nominatos testimonium perhibere rogavit et requisivit. Et deinde die, mense, et anno prædictis, dictus reverendissimus dominus Thomas electus, in mea et prælibatorum venerabilium virorum præsentia testium ad hoc etiam adhibitorum, dict' domum Capitularem exivit, et ad gradus summi altaris dicti Collegii vestibus sacerdotalibus amictus ad recipiendum munus consecrationis perrexit, ac ibidem coram reverendo in Christo patre domino Johanne, permissione divina

Lincoln' Episcopo, pontificalibus induto super cathedram honorifice ornatam sedente, reverendis patribus Johanne Exon' et Henrico Assaven' Episcopis eidem Lincoln' Episcopo in actu consecrationis dicti reverendissimi electi assistentibus, genibus innixus, quandam pergameni schedulam tenoris sequentis, viz.

IN DEI NOMINE AMEN. Ego Thomas, electus Cantuarien', First oath. ab hac hora inantea, fidelis et obediens ero beato Petro, sanctæque apostolicæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, ac domino nostro domino Clementi Papæ septimo, suisque successoribus canonice intrantibus. Non ero in consilio aut consensu vel facto, ut vitam perdant aut membrum, seu capiantur, aut in eos manus violenter quomodolibet ingerantur, vel injuriæ aliquæ inferantur quovisquæsito colore. Consilium vero, quod mihi credituri sunt per se aut nuncios seu literas, ad eorum damnum (me sciente) nemini pandam. Papatum Romanum et regalia sancti Petri, adjutor eis ero ad retinendum et defendendum contra omnem hominem. Legatum apostolicæ sedis in eundo et redeundo honorifice tractabo, et in suis necessitatibus adjuvabo. Jura, honores, privilegia, et auctoritatem Romanæ Ecclesiæ, domini nostri Papæ et successorum suorum prædictorum conservare et defendere, augere et promovere curabo. Nec ero in consilio vel tractatu, in quibus contra ipsum dominum nostrum, vel eandem Romanam Ecclesiam, aliqua sinistra vel prejudicialia personarum, juris, honoris, status, et potestatis eorum machinentur, et si talia a quibuscunque procurari novero vel tractari, impediam hoc pro posse, et quantocius potero commode significabo eidem domino nostro, vel alteri per quem ad ipsius notitiam pervenire possit. Regulas sanctorum patrum, decreta, ordinationes, sententias, dispositiones, reservationes, provisiones, et mandata apostolica, totis viribus observabo, et faciam ab aliis observari. Hæreticos, schismatos, et rebelles domino nostro et successoribus prædictis, pro posse persequar et impugnabo. Vocatus ad synodum veniam, nisi præpeditus fuero canonica præpeditio. Apostolorum limina, Romana Curia existente citra, singulis annis, ultra vero montes, singulis bienniis visitabo, aut per me aut per meum nuncium, nisi apostolica absolver licentia. Possessiones vero ad mensam meam pertinentes non vendam, neque donabo, nec impignorabo, neque de novo infeudabo, vel aliquo modo alienabo, etiam cum consensu capitalis Ecclesiæ meæ, inconsulto Romano pontificè. Sic me Deus adjuvet, et hæc sancta Dei Evangelia,—manibus suis tenens,

ante lectionem ejusdem schedulæ et juramenti in eadem contenti præstationem, in mea et eorundem testium præsentia, asseruit et protestatus est, se dictam schedulam lecturum, ac juramentum inibi insertum præstiturum, sub præmissis protestationibus, alias per eundem eodem die in dicto domo Capitulari in mea et eorundem testium præsentia habitis et factis, et non aliter neque alio modo. Et incontinentem post præmissa, eandem schedulam perlegit, et, ut in eadem continetur, juravit.

Super quibus assertionem et protestationem per eundem modo præmisso tunc ibidem factis, unum vel plura publicum seu publica exinde conficere instrumentum sive instrumenta, ac testes præscriptos testimonium perhibere etiam tunc ibidem rogavit et requisivit. Quibus sic peractis die, mense, et anno prædictis, ac solenni consecratione ejusdem reverendissimi patris finita et expedita, idem reverendissimus pater dominus Thomas Cantuar' Archiepiscopus, ante dictum summum altare pallium recepturus, in mea et dictorum mag' Johannis Tregunwell, Thomæ Bedill, et Ricardi Gwent, testium prædictorum ad hoc specialiter adhibitorum præsentia, ante præstationem juramenti infrascripti, iterum protestatus est, se hujusmodi sequens juramentum sub eisdem protestationibus ut præmittitur in dicto domo Capitulari habitis et factis ac superius descriptis, et non aliter neque alio modo, præstiturum et juraturum, ac ibidem immediate post præmissa, juramentum, sub forma quæ sequitur,

Second  
oath.

IN DEI NOMINE AMEN. Ego Thomas Archiepiscopus Cant' ab hac hora inantea, fidelis et obediens ero beato Petro, sanctæque apostolicæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, et domino nostro domino Clementi Papæ septimo, suisque successoribus canonice intrantibus. Non ero in consilio aut consensu vel facto, ut vitam perdant aut membrum, seu capiantur mala captione. Consilium vero, quod mihi credituri sunt per se aut nuncium seu literas, ad eorum damnum (me sciente) nemini pandam. Papatum Romanum et regalia sancti Petri, adjutor eis ero ad retinendum et defendendum, salvo meo ordine, contra omnem hominem. Legatum apostolicæ sedis in eundo et redeundo honorifice tractabo, et in suis necessitatibus adjuvabo. Vocatus ad synodum veniam, nisi præpeditus fuero canonica præpeditio. Apostolorum limina, Roman' Cur' existente citra, singulis annis, ultra vero montes, singulis bienniis visitabo, aut per me aut meum nuncium, nisi apostolica absolvar licentia. Possessiones vero ad mensam mei Ar-



chiepiscopatus pertinentes non vendam, neque donabo, nec impignorabo, neque de novo infeudabo, vel aliquo modo alienabo, inconsulto Romano pontifice. Sic me Deus adjuvet, et hæc sancta Dei evangelia,—præstitit et juravit.

Super qua protestatione, sic ut præmittitur per eundem reverendissimum tertio facta et habita, idem reverendissimus pater me prothonotarium et notarium publicum subscriptum, unum vel plura publicum seu publica instrumentum sive instrumenta exinde conficere, ac testes prædictos testimonium perhibere de et super eisdem, etiam tertio rogavit et requisivit.

ACTA fuerunt hæc omnia et singula, prout suprascribuntur et recitantur respective, sub anno Domini, indictione, anno regni Regis prædicti, mense, die, et locis prædictis, præsentibus tunc ibidem venerabilibus viris prænominatis, testibus ad præmissa respective ut præmittitur adhibitis et requisitis. Et ego Ricardus Watkyns, in legibus baccalarius, dicti domini nostri Regis prothonotarius, quia præmissis omnibus et singulis, dum sic ut præmittitur sub anno Domini et regni dicti domini nostri Regis, mense, die, et loco prædictis, agebantur et fiebant, una cum prænominatis testibus præsens personaliter interfui, eaque omnia et singula sic fieri vidi, et audiui, ac in notam sumpsi, ideo hoc præsens publicum instrumentum manu alterius (me interim aliter occupato) fideliter scriptum exinde confeci, publicavi, atque in hanc publicam formam redegi, \* signavi et nomine meis solitis signavi, rogatus et requisitus in fidem et testimonium omnium et singulorum præmissorum.

## II.

### *Cranmer's Oath to the King for his Temporalities.*

I, THOMAS CRANMER, renounce and utterly forsake all such Strype, clauses, words, sentences, and grants, which I have of the Pope's <sup>Cranmer,</sup> Holiness in his bulls of the Archbishopric of Canterbury, that in App. N<sup>o</sup>. 7. any manner was, is, or may be hurtful or prejudicial to your <sup>from Cott.</sup> Highness, your heirs, successors, estate, or dignity royal: know- <sup>MSS. Cleo-</sup> <sup>patra, E.</sup> <sup>vi.</sup> ing myself to take and hold the said Archbishopric immediately, and only, of your Highness, and of none other: most lowly beseeching the same for restitution of the temporalities of the said Archbishopric; professing to be faithful, true, and obedient subject to your said Highness, your heirs and successors, during my life. So help me God and the holy evangelists.

\* It is *signavi* in the MS., but *signoque* was probably intended.

## III.

*An Order taken for preaching, and bidding of the beads in all sermons to be made within this realm<sup>a</sup>.*

Cotton MSS. FIRST, Whosoever shall preach in the presence of the King's  
Cleop. E. v. Highness and the Queen's Grace, shall, in the bidding of the  
p. 286. beads, pray for the whole catholic Church of Christ, as well quick  
Burnet, as dead, and specially for the catholic Church of this realm ;  
Ref. vol. iii. and first, as we be most bounden, for our sovereign lord King  
App. B. ii. Henry the VIIIth, being immediately next unto God the only  
N<sup>o</sup>. 29. and supreme head of this catholic Church of England, and for  
the most gracious lady Queen Anne his wife ; and for the lady  
Elizabeth, daughter and heir to them both, our princess, and no  
further.

*Item*, The preacher in all other places of this realm, than in the presence of the King's said Highness and the Queen's Grace, shall, in the bidding of the beads, pray first in manner and form, and word for word, as is above ordained and limited ; adding thereunto in the second part, for all archbishops and bishops, and for all the whole clergy of this realm ; and specially for such as shall please the preacher to name of his devotion : and thirdly for all dukes, earls, marquisses, and for all the whole temporality of this realm ; and specially for such as the preacher shall name of devotion : and finally for the souls of all them that be dead, and specially of such as it shall please the preacher to name.

*Item*, It is ordained, that every preacher shall preach once in the presence of his greatest audience against the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome, and so after at his liberty : and that no man shall be suffered to defend or maintain the foresaid usurped power.

Furthermore, to keep unity and quietness in this realm, it is ordained, that no preachers shall contend openly in pulpit one against another, nor uncharitably deprave one another in open

[<sup>a</sup> " About the month of June this year [1534,] was a book drawn up for " bishops and priests, wherein was an order for preaching ; and in the " same were forms devised for the beads, as well for preachers as curates. .... " This book the Archbishop, who, we may well suppose, had a great hand in " it, sent by the King's commandment to all the bishops, and to the Archbi- " shop of York, though out of his province." Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 35. See also vol. i. Letters ci. cxx.]

audience ; but if any of them be grieved one with another, let them complain to the King's Highness, or to the Archbishop, or Bishop of the diocese where such chance shall happen, and there to be remedied, if there be cause why ; and if the complaint be not true, the complainer to be punished.

*Item,* Also to forbend, that no preachers for a year shall preach neither with nor against purgatory, honouring of saints, that priests may have wives, that faith only justifieth, to go on pilgrimages, to forge miracles, considering these things have caused dissension amongst the subjects of this realm already, which, thanked be God, is now well pacified.

*Item,* That from henceforth all preachers shall purely, sincerely, and justly preach the Scripture and word of Christ, and not mix them with man's institutions, nor make men believe that the force of God's law and man's law is like ; nor that any man is able or hath power to dispense with God's law.

*Item,* It is also ordained, that the declaration of the Sentence which hath been used in the church four times in the year, shall not from henceforth neither be published nor esteemed in any point contrary to the preeminence and jurisdiction royal of our King and his realm, or laws and liberties of the same ; and any so doing to be competently punished by the Bishop of that diocese, where it shall fortune him to be or inhabit : and this throughout the realm and dominions of our Sovereign, shortly the bishops to set order in.

*Item,* It is also ordained, that the Collects for the preservation of the King and Queen by name, be from henceforth commonly and usually used and said in every cathedral church, religious house, and parish church, in all their high masses, throughout all the realm and dominions of our King and Sovereign.

*Item,* It is further ordained, that wheresoever the King's just cause of matrimony hath either been detracted, and the incestuous and unjust set forth, or in places where as it hath not been dilated, that in all those places, till the people be fully satisfied and justly instruct, all manner of preachers whatsoever they be, happening to come into any such part of the realm, shall from henceforth open and declare the mere verity and justness of this latter matrimony, as nigh as their learning can serve them, and according to the true determinations of a great num-

ber of the most famous and esteemed Universities of Christendom ; according also to the just resolution and definition of both the Convocations of this realm, concurring also in the same opinion ; by the whole assent of Parliament, our Prince, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons of this realm ; wherefore now they must declare this matter neither doubtful nor disputable, but to be a thing of mere verity, and so to be allowed in all men's opinions.

*Item*, It is further ordained, that the foresaid preachers shall also declare the false and unjust handling of the Bishop of Rome, pretending to have jurisdiction to judge this cause at Rome ; which in the first hearing thereof, did both declare and confess in word and writing the justness thereof to be upon our Sovereign's side, insomuch as by a decretal delivered to the legate here then sitting for the same cause, he did clearly determine, that if prince Arthur was our Prince's brother, and then of competent age allowed in the law, when he married the lady Katharine, she being so likewise, and that as far as presumptions can prove, carnal copulation ensued between them ; that these proved before the said cardinals and legates, (which indeed were accordingly to the laws justly proved,) that then the unjust copulation between our Sovereign and the said lady Katharine was neither lawful, nor longer to be suffered, and so, *eo facto*, pronounced in the foresaid decretal, the nullity, invalidity, and unlawfulness of their pretended matrimony, which was by his law sufficient judgment of the cause ; which decretal by his commandment, after and because he would not have the effect thereof to ensue, was, after the sight thereof, imbesiled by the foresaid cardinals, and one which then was here his cubicular, contrary to all justness and equity ; wherein he hath done our Sovereign most extreme wrong.

Secondly, Contrary to all equity and determinations of General Councils, he hath called the cause (which ought to be determined here) to Rome, where our Sovereign is neither bound to appear, nor send proctor : and yet hath he detained wrongfully the cause there these three or four years at the instance of the other party, which sued to have it there, because they knew he durst not displease the Emperor, who maketh himself a party in it, as by the sequel it doth evidently appear, and so could our Prince get no justice at his hand, but was wrongfully delayed to

no small hinderance, both to his succession, and this his realm, eminent danger.

Thirdly, Where it is a natural defence that the subject ought and may defend his natural sovereign or master, both in word and deed, and ought thereto to be admitted, this foresaid Bishop of Rome, contrary to this equity in nature, hath rejected our Sovereign's excusator, contrary both to his own laws, (which he most setteth by,) and also God's law, which he ought to prefer. Upon which cause, and other great injuries, our Sovereign did appeal to the General Council; notwithstanding the which, he hath, contrary to all justice, proceeded *ad ulteriora*, wherein by a General Council he is damned as an heretic; yet thus injuriously from the beginning hitherto, he hath handled our Prince's cause and matter there.

Fourthly, The said Bishop of Rome, since our Prince's appeal, hearing of the laws and Acts of Parliament which we then went about, and that our King having just ground (the premises considered) would provide according to his bounden duty, both for the surety of his succession and realm, gave out a sentence in manner of excommunication and interdiction of him and his realm, in which when he was spoken to for the iniquity and unjustness thereof by our Prince's agents, he and his Council could nor did otherwise excuse them, (the fact being so contrary to all laws and right,) but that the fault was in a new officer late come to the court, which for his lewd doing should grievously be punished, and the process to cease. This they promised our Prince's agents; which notwithstanding was set up in Flanders to the great injury of our Prince, and for partiality to the other part, as it may well appear by the foresaid sentence.

Fifthly, The said Bishop of Rome sought all the ways possible with fair words and promises both by his ambassadors and our Sovereign's own, which by any means could be invented, to have abused our Prince and Sovereign; which when he saw that by none of his crafts our Prince would be no longer abused with them, then sued he to the French King, to be a mediator between our Sovereign and him: declaring to him and his Council that he would gladly do for our Sovereign, allowing the justness of his cause; so that they would find the means that our Sovereign would not proceed in his acts and laws till that were proved. And that he would meet with him at Marcelles for

the finishing thereof, for at Rome he durst not do it for fear of the Emperor. The good French King admonished our Prince hereof, offering to him to do all pleasure and kindness that lay in him in this cause, trusting that if the Bishop of Rome came once to Marcelles, he should give sentence for our Sovereign in his just cause, and therefore prayed our Prince to be content with that meeting, in which he would labour for it effectually, and so he did: to the which our Prince answered, that touching the meeting he was content, but touching the forbearing of making laws, he prayed his good brother to hold him excused, for he knew well enough both the craft and delays of the Bishop of Rome; by which from thenceforth he would never be abused: and that likewise he feared that he would abuse his good brother, which so indeed after followed; for after he had gotten the marriage of the Duke of Orleans, he then promised the French King to give judgment for our master, so he would send a proxy, which the said Bishop of Rome knew well before, that he neither would, nor was bound to do; yet notwithstanding his subtle imaginations, his promise was to the French King, that our Prince sending a proctor, should there, before his departure, have judgment for him in the principal cause; for he openly confessed further, that our master had the right: but because our Prince and master would not prejudicate princes' jurisdiction, and uphold his usurped power by sending a proctor, ye may evidently here see that this was only the cause why the judgment of the Bishop of Rome was not given in his favour; whereby it may appear that there lacked not any justness in our Prince's cause, but that ambition, vainglory, and too much mundanity, were the letts thereof: wherefore, good people, I exhort you to stick to the truth and our Prince according to our bounden duties, and despise these naughty doings of this Bishop of Rome; and charitably pray that he and all others, abusers of Christ's word and works, may have grace to amend.

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 IV.

*Inhibitio pro Visitatione Regia.*

Wilkins,  
*Concilia*,  
 vol. iii.  
 p. 797.

THOMAS, permissione divina Cant' archiepiscopus, &c. venerab' confratri nostro Domino Johanni, London' episcopo, sa-

lutem et fraternam in Domino charitatem. Cum nuper receperimus serenissimi domini nostri Regis Henrici octavi, Dei gratia Angliæ et Franciæ Regis, Fidei Defensoris, Dominique Hiberniæ, ac in terris Supremi Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ sub Christo Capitis, literas inhibitorias sub verborum tenore sequent'—Henricus octavus Dei gratia Angliæ et Franciæ Rex, Fidei Defensor, Dominus Hiberniæ, ac in terris Supremum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ sub Christo Caput, dilecto nobis reverendissimo in Christo patri, Thomæ, miseratione divina Cant. Archiepiscopo, ac totius Angliæ Primati, salutem. Cum nos auctoritate nostra suprema ecclesiastica, omnia ac singula monasteria, domos, prioratus, et loca alia ecclesiastica quæcunque, totumque clerum infra et per totum nostrum Angliæ regnum constituta propediem visitare statuerimus; vobis tenore præsentium stricte inhibemus atque mandamus, et per vos suffraganeis vestris confratribus episcopis, ac per illos suis archidiaconis infra vestram provinciam Cant' ubilibet constitutis, sic inhiberi volumus atque præcipimus, quatenus pendente visitatione nostra hujusmodi, nullus vestrum monasteria, ecclesias, ac loca alia prædicta, clerumve visitare, aut ea quæ sunt jurisdictionis exercere, seu quicquam aliud in præjudicium dictæ nostræ visitationis generalis quovis modo attemptare præsumat, sub poena contemptus. In cujus rei testimonium has præsentem litteras inde fieri, et sigilli nostri, quo ad causas ecclesiasticas utimur, appensione communiri curavimus. Dat' 18. die mensis Septembris, A. D. MDXXXV.

Quocirca fraternitati vestræ committimus et mandamus, quatenus omnibus et singulis episcopis et suffraganeis nostris, in nostra provincia Cant' constitutis, ac eorum archidiaconis, commissariis, officialibus, et ministris quibuscunque, secundum tenorem et effectum litterarum domini nostri Regis inhibentis, quibus nos etiam tenore præsentium ex mandato Regiæ Majestatis prædict' inhibemus, quatenus pendente visitatione regia hujusmodi, nullus eorum monasteria, ecclesias, ac alia loca ecclesiastica, clerumve visitare, aut ea quæ sunt jurisdictionis exercere, seu quicquam aliud in præjudicium regiæ visitationis quovis modo attemptare præsumat, vobis insuper mandantes, quatenus præfatos coepiscopos et suffraganeos nostros moneatis peremptorie, quos nos etiam tenore præsentium sic monemus, quatenus ipsi modum et formam concionand' ac preces inter prædicand' a juxta

\* [See the preceding article.]

tenorem articulorum alias ad annum et dimidium ultimo elaps' eis transmiss' observent ; literas quoque jurisdictionis a Romano Pontifice et ejus prædecessoribus usurpatæ expulsionem concernentes, eis etiam jam nuper missas, secundum formam in eis traditam, publice apud populum declarare non omittant. Et quid in præmissis feceritis, nos, cum ad hoc fueritis requisiti, debite certificare curetis per literas vestras patentes, harum seriem in se continentes, auctentice sigillat. Dat' in manerio nostro de Lamehith, secundo die mensis Octobris, A. D. MDXXXV. et nostræ consecrat' anno tertio.

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V.

*The judgment of the Convocation concerning General Councils.*

Lord Herbert, *Life of Hen. VIII.*

p. 406. (ed. 1649.)

Burnet, *Ref.* vol. i. App. B. iii. No. 5.

Collier, *Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. App. No. 37.

As concerning General Councils, like as we, taught by long experience, do perfectly know, that there never was, nor is, any thing devised, invented, or instituted by our forefathers, more expedient or more necessary for the establishment of our faith, for the extirpation of heresies, and the abolishing of sects and schisms ; and finally, for the reducing of Christ's people unto one perfect unity and concord in his religion, than by the having of General Councils ; so that the same be lawfully had and congregated in *Spiritu Sancto*, and be also conform and agreeable, as well concerning the surety and indifferency of the places, as all other points requisite and necessary for the same, unto that wholesome and godly institution and usage, for the which they were at first devised and used in the primitive Church : even so on the other side, taught by like experience, we esteem, repute, and judge, that there is, ne can be any thing in the world more pestilent and pernicious to the common-weal of Christendom, or whereby the truth of God's word hath in times past, or hereafter may be sooner defaced or subverted, or whereof hath and may ensue more contention, more discord, and other devilish effects, than when such General Councils have or shall be assembled, not Christianly nor charitably, but for and upon private malice and ambition, or other worldly and carnal respects and considerations, according to the saying of Gregory Nazianzenus, in his Epistle to one Procopius, wherein he writeth this sentence following ; “ Sic sentio, si verum scribendum est, “ omnes conventus episcoporum fugiendos esse, quia nullius Sy-



“ nodi finem vidi bonum, neque habentem magis solutionem malorum, quam incrementum: nam cupiditates contentionum, et gloria (sed ne putes me odiosum ista scribentem) vincunt rationem.” That is to say; “ I think this, if I should write truly, that all General Councils be to be eschewed, for I never saw that they produced any good end or effect, nor that any provision or remedy, but rather increase of mischiefs proceeded of them. For the desire of maintenance of men’s opinions, and ambition of glory (but reckon not that I write this of malice) hath always in them overcome reason.” Wherefore we think, that Christian princes, especially and above all things, ought and must, with all their wills, power, and diligence, foresee and provide, “ Ne sanctissima hac in parte majorum instituta, ad improbißimos ambitionis aut malitiæ effectus explendos, diversissimo suo fine et sceleratissimo pervertantur: neve ad alium prætextum possint valere, et longe diversum effectum orbi producere quam sanctissima rei facies præ se ferat.” That is to say, “ Lest the most noble wholesome institutions of our elders in this behalf, be perverted to a most contrary and most wicked end and effect: that is to say, to fulfil and satisfy the wicked affections of men’s ambition and malice; or, lest they might prevail for any other colour, or bring forth any other effect, than their most virtuous and laudable countenance doth outwardly to the world show or pretend.” And first of all, we think they ought principally to consider who hath the authority to call together a General Council. Secondly, whether the causes alleged be so weighty and so urgent, that necessarily they require a General Council, nor can otherwise be remedied. Thirdly, who ought to be judges in the General Council. Fourthly, what order of proceeding is to be observed in the same; and how the opinions or judgments of the Fathers are to be consulted or asked. Fifthly, what doctrines are to be allowed or defended, with divers other things which in General Councils ought of reason and equity to be observed. And as unto the first point, we think that neither the Bishop of Rome, nor any one prince, of what estate, degree, or preeminence soever he be, may, by his own authority, call, indict, or summon any General Council, without the express consent, assent, and agreement of the residue of Christian princes, and especially such as have within their own realms and seignories *imperium in erum*, that

is to say, of such as have the whole, entire, and supreme government and authority over all their subjects, without knowing or recognizing of any other supreme power or authority. And this to be true, we be induced to think, by many and sundry, as well examples, as great reasons and authority. The which, forasmuch as it should be over long and tedious to express here particularly, we have thought good to omit the same for this present. And in witness that this is our plain and determinate sentence, opinion, and judgment, touching the premises, we the prelates and clergy under-written, being congregated together in the Convocation of the province of Canterbury, and representing the whole clergy of the same, have to these presents subscribed our names the 20th of July, in the year of our Lord 1536. 28 Hen. VIII.

Thomas Cromwell. Thomas Cantuariensis.  
Johannes London. with 13 bishops; and  
of abbots, priors, archdeacons, deans,  
proctors, clerks, and other ministers, 49.

## VI.

### *Fifteen Questions tending to Reformation*<sup>b</sup>.

Cotton MSS. Cleop. E. v. fol. 48. FIRST, What causes, reasons, or considerations hath or might  
Burnet, Ref. vol. i. Add. No. 2. move any man to desire to have the Bishop of Rome restored in any point to his pretended monarchy, or to repugn against the laws and statutes of this realm made for the setting forth of the King's title of Supreme Head?

2. *Item*, Whether a man offending deadly after he is baptized, may obtain remission of his sins by any other way than by contrition, through grace?

3. *Item*, If the clergy know that the common sort of men have them in an higher estimation, because they are persuaded

<sup>b</sup> [Both this and the following article are attributed to Cranmer by Burnet. But Strype justly remarks that "they are not written by him, nor by his secretary; so it does not appear that they are his." (*Corrections of Burnet* in Append. to vol. iii. p. 544.) Collier however, and Mr. Todd agree with Burnet respecting No. VII. (Collier, *Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 167. Todd, *Life of Cranmer*, vol. i. p. 189. ii. p. 520.) No. VI. was probably drawn up by Cromwell. See Catalogue of Cotton Library.]

that it lieth in the will and power of priests to remit, or not remit sins at their pleasure, whether in such case the said clergy offend, if they wink at this, and voluntarily suffer the people to continue in this opinion ?

4. *Item*, Whether a sinner, being sorry and contrite for his sins, and forthwith dying, shall have as high a place in heaven, as if he had never offended ?

5. *Item*, Whether any, and what difference may be assigned betwixt two men, whereof the one being very sorry and contrite for his sins dieth without absolution of the priest, and the other, which being contrite is also absolved by the priest, and so dieth ?

6. *Item*, If it may appear that the common people have a greater affiance or trust in outward rites and ceremonies than they ought to have, and that they esteem more virtue in images and adorning of them, kissing their feet, or offering candles unto them, than they should esteem, and that yet the curates knowing the same, and fearing the loss of their offerings, and such other temporal commodities, do rather encourage the people to continue after this sort, than teach them the truth in the premises according to Scripture ; what the King's Highness and his Parliament may do, and what they are bound in conscience to do in such case ?

7. *Item*, Whether now in time of the new law the tithes or tenth be due to curates by the laws of God, or of man ; and if the same be due by the laws of man, what man's laws they be ?

8. *Item*, Whether the clergy only, and none but they, ought to have voices in General Councils ?

9. *Item*, Whether the ninth canon of the Council of Chalcedon, wherein is contained that one clerk may not sue another before any secular judge, but only before his bishop, and such other canons of like effect, have been generally received or not ? and whether the same be contrary to the King's prerogative and laws of this realm, and whether it be expedient that it were declared by the Parliament that the said canons being at no time received, especially within this realm, be void and of none effect ?

10. *Item*, Of the 24th canon of the said Council, wherein is contained that monasteries once consecrate by the bishop, may not after be made dwelling houses for laymen, whether that canon have been received and observed, and whether the same

be against the power of the King and authority of his Parliament ?

11. *Item*, If it may appear that the bishops have not, ne yet do maturely examine and diligently inquire of the conversation and learning of such as be ordered or admitted to cures by them, but rather without examination or inquisition indistinctly admit persons unable, whereof ensueth great peril of souls, and innumerable inconveniences otherways, what the King's Highness or his Parliament ought to do, or may do for reformation in the premises ?

12. *Item*, If such as have deaneries, archdeaconries, chancellorships, and other offices or promotions of the clergy, use not themselves in their own persons after such sort as the primary institution of those offices or promotions require, and according to the wills of them that endowed the same, what the King and his Parliament may do, or ought to do in this case ?

13. *Item*, For what causes and to what ends and purposes, such offices and promotions of the clergy were first instituted ?

14. *Item*, If curates having benefices with cure, for their more bodily ease refuse to dwell upon any of their said cures, and remain in idleness continually in cathedral or collegial churches upon their prebends, whether it be in this case expedient that the King's Highness or his Parliament take any order for the redress of the same ?

15. *Item*, Of the sacraments of confirmation, order, matrimony, and extreme unction, what the external signs and inward graces be in every of the said sacraments, what promises be made to the receivers of them by God, and of what efficacy they be of, and every of them ?

## VII.

*Reasons offered to the King for suspending his determination against the Marriage of Priests.*

Cotton MSS. Cleop. E. v. fol. 50. Burnet, Ref. vol. i. PLEASETH it your Highness graciously to consider, deeply to ponder and weigh by your high wisdom these considerations following.  
First, How no great thing is to be determined, principally

\* [See note above, p. 260.]

matters of Christ's religion, without long, great, and mature de-  
liberation. Add. N<sup>o</sup>. 3.  
Collier,  
*Eccles.*  
*Hist.* vol. ii.  
p. 167.

Secondly, How evil it hath succeeded, when in Provincial, yea, or yet in General Councils, men have gone about to set forth any thing as in the force of God's law, without the manifest word of God, or else without apparent reasons infallibly deduced out of the word of God.

Thirdly, How all Christian regions are now full of learned men in the Scripture, which can well espy out and judge, how things that be, or shall be set forth, are agreeable with Scripture or not.

Fourthly, Of what audacity men be of now adays, which will not spare to write against high princes, as well as against private persons, without any respect to their high estates, only weighing the equity or the iniquity of the cause.

Fifthly, How not only men of the new learning (as they be called) but also the very papistical authors, do allow, that by the word of God priests be not forbidden to marry, although they were not ignorant that many expounders of Scripture were of the contrary judgment.

Sixthly, How that it is not possible that all learned men should be of one mind, sentence, and opinion, as long as the cockle is mingled with the wheat, the godly with the ungodly, which certainly shall be, as long as this world endureth.

Seventhly, How variety of opinions have been occasion of the opening of many verities heretofore taken for heresy, yea, and yet so esteemed and taken of many in other regions; as namely the usurped authority of the Bishop of Rome hath by that occasion come into light, with effusion of the blood not of a few, such as were the first stirrers up thereof.

Lastly, There be also other opinions not spoken of, which have made, and yet will make as much variance in your Grace's realm, as any of them treated of, namely, Whether the holy Scripture teacheth any purgatory to be after this life or not? Whether the same Scripture teacheth the invocation of dead saints? Whether there be any unwritten verities necessary to be believed, not written in Scripture, nor deducted by infallible arguments out of the open places of Scripture? Whether there be any satisfaction beside the satisfaction of Christ? Whether free-will by his own strength may dispose itself to grace

of a conveniency (as it is said) *de congruo*? Whether it be against Scripture to kiss the image of Christ in the honour of him? And generally whether images may be used any other wise than your Grace setteth forth in your Injunctions<sup>d</sup>?

Wherefore in consideration of the premises it may please your Highness to suspend your judgment for a time, and not to determine the marriage of priests to be against Scripture, but rather to put both parts to silence, commanding them neither to preach, dispute, nor openly to talk thereof under pain of—&c. And in case these premises do not move your Highness to stay, that then it may please the same to grant that the article of priests' marriage may be openly disputed in both Universities, under indifferent judges, before it be determined. All the arguments of the contrary part first to be delivered in writing to the defenders, twelve days before the disputation; to the intent they may the more maturely and deliberately make answer to the same; and they that shall enter as defenders into this disputation, to do it under this condition, that if their judges discern them to be overcome, they be right well contented to suffer death therefore: and if their adversaries cannot prove their purpose, their desire is no more, but that it may please your Highness to leave your most humble subjects to the liberty that God's word permitteth them in that behalf; and your said humble subjects shall pray unto Almighty God for the preservation of your most royal estate long to continue, to God's glory and honour.

### VIII.

*The opinion of certain of the Bishops and Clergy of this realm, subscribed with their hands, touching the General Council<sup>e</sup>.*

For the General Council.

*State Papers*, vol. i.  
part 2. No.  
LXXXIV.

THOUGH that in the old time, when the Empire of Rome had his ample dominion over the most part of the world, the first

<sup>d</sup> [See Injunctions of 1536. Burnet, *Ref.* vol. I. App. B. iii. No. 7.]

<sup>e</sup> ["There is no date to this paper; but as it must have been signed after John Hilsey became Bishop of Rochester in Oct. 1535, and before his death in 1538, and as the Pope summoned a Council to be held at Mantua in May 1537, it must have reference to that Council, to which Henry VIII. apprehended that the Emperor and the King of France would accede: as appears by a letter from Fitzwilliam to Crumwell, in the Chapter House." Note to *State Papers*.]

four General Councils, which at all times have been of most estimation in the Church of Christ, were called and gathered by the Emperor's commandment, and for a godly intent, that heresies might be extinct, schisms put away, good order and manners in the ministers of the Church and the people of the same, established; like as many Councils more were called, till now of late by the negligence, as well of the Emperor as other Princes, the Bishop of Rome hath been suffered to usurp this power: yet now, forsomuch that the Empire of Rome and the monarchy of the same hath no such general dominion, but many Princes have absolute power in their own realms, and an whole and entire monarchy, no one Prince may by his authority call any General Council; but if that any one or mo of these Princes, for the establishing of the faith, for the extirpation of schisms, &c. lovingly, charitably, with a good sincere intent, to a sure place, require any other Prince, or the rest of the great Princes, to be content to agree, that for the wealth, quietness, and tranquillity of all Christian people, by his or their free consent, a General Council might be assembled; that Prince or those Princes so required, are bound by order of charity, for the good fruit that may come of it, to condescend and agree thereunto, having no lawful impediment, nor just cause to the contrary. The chief causes of the General Councils are before expressed.

In all the ancient Councils of the Church, in matters of the faith and interpretation of Scripture, no man made definitive subscription, but bishops and priests; for so much as the declaration of the word of God pertaineth unto them.

<sup>f</sup>The words of John in his 20th chap. *Sicut misit me Pater, et ego mitto vos, &c.* hath no respect to a King's or a Prince's power, but only to show, how that the ministers of the word of God, chosen and sent for that intent, are the messengers of Christ, to teach the truth of his Gospel, and to loose and bind sin, &c. as Christ was the messenger of his Father. The words also of St. Paul, in the 20th chap. of the Acts; *Attendite vobis et universo gregi, in qua vos Spiritus Sanctus posuit episcopos regere ecclesiam Dei*, were spoken to the bishops and priests, to be diligent pastors of the people, both to teach them diligently, and

<sup>f</sup>[This last paragraph signed by eight bishops, is also printed by Burnet, (*Reformat.* vol. I. App. B. iii. No. 10.) from a manuscript that belonged to Bishop Stillingfleet.]

also to be circumspect that false preachers should not seduce the people, as followeth immediately after in the same place. Other places of Scripture declare the highness and excellency of Christian Princes' authority and power; the which of a truth is most high, for he hath power and charge generally over all, as well bishops and priests, as other. The bishops and priests have charge of souls within their own cures, power to minister sacraments, and to teach the word of God; to the which word of God Christian Princes knowledge themselves subject; and in case the bishops be negligent, it is the Christian princes' office to see them do their duty.

T. Cantuarien.

Joannes London.

Cuthbertus Dunelmens.

Jo. Batwellens.

Thomas Elien.

Johannes Bangor.

Nicolaus Sarisburien.

Hugo Wygorn.

Joannes Roffens.

Wilhelmus Abbas Monasterii Sancti Benedicti.

Robertus Aldrydge.

Ricardus Coren.

Edvardus Leyghton.

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## IX.

### *Mandatum Archiepiscopi Cantuar' de Festo D. Marci Evangelistæ celebrando.*

Wilkins,  
*Concilia*,  
vol. iii.  
p. 826.

THOMAS, miseratione divina Cant' Archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ Primas et Metropolitanus, dilecto nobis in Christo Mag' Roberto Colyns, in legibus baccalaureo, infra civitatem et dioccesin nostras Cant' commissario et officiali, salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem. Licet serenissima Regia Majestas, tanquam Supremum in terris sub Christo Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Caput, atque ea auctoritate, de consensu et assensu prælatorum et cleri hujus regni sui Angliæ in Convocatione legitime congregatorum, inter cætera decrevit et ordinavit, quod omnes dies festi quorumcunque sanctorum contingentes in tempore messium sive autumnii, computando hujusmodi tempus a 1<sup>o</sup> die Julii usque ad 29<sup>m</sup> diem Septembris, sive temporibus quibus jura apud Westmon' per



suos justitiosos reddi solent, non observabuntur in hoc suo regno tanquam solennes more solito, sed quod liceret unicuique suo subdito in hujusmodi diebus, operibus tam mechanicis quam aliis (ut in diebus profestis fieri solet) operam dare; (diebus, in quibus præfecti justitiosi ad jura reddenda apud aulam Westmonast' sedere non solent, duntaxat exceptis,) nuperrime tamen eadem sua Majestas ex causis justis et rationalibus animum suum in ea parte moventibus, voluit et decrevit, quod festum D. Marci Evangelistæ (prædicta ordinatione non obstante) solenniter ad instar festorum Apostolorum deinceps annis singulis observabitur more ab antiquo solito; sive infra dies, quibus jus apud Westmonast' reddi solet, sive extra illud tempus contigerit: Tibi igitur committimus et firmiter injungendo mandamus, quatenus cum omni celeritate qua decet, diem D. Marci prædict' solenniter more solito celebrand' clero et populo infra civitat' et dioces' nostras Cant' constituto publices, seu publicari facias. Et quid in præmissis feceris, dicto negotio expedito, nobis, quam cito fieri poterit, debite certifies. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum præsentibus est appensum. Dat' in manerio nostro de Lamehythe, 19<sup>o</sup> die mensis Aprilis, anno Dom. MDXXXVII. et consecrat' nostræ anno v.

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X.

*Mandatum Archiepiscopi Cantuar' de non celebrandis Festis Diebus jussu Regio in Synodo Provinciali abrogatis.*

THOMAS, miseratione divina Cant' Archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ Primas et Metropolitanus, dilecto nobis in Christo decano nostræ peculiaris jurisdictionis Ecclesiæ nostræ Christi Cant' immediatæ de Bocking, ejusve in absentia commissario, salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem. Cum serenissimus noster Princeps Henrico VIII. Dei gratia, &c. in Convocatione præsulorum et cleri Cant' provinciæ, anno Dom' MDXXXVI. apud sedes D. Pauli London legitime indicta, cum consensu omnium et singulorum interessentium, inter alia pie sanxerat et ordinaverat quasdam ferias, justissimis causis id exigentibus, abrogari ac penitus tolli; cujus quidem statuti & seu ordinationis tenorem clero nostræ pe-

Wilkins  
*Concilium*,  
vol. iii.  
p. 827.

\* [See Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 823.]

cularis jurisdictionis ante hæc tempora, literis in illum usum impressis, promulgari fecimus et curavimus; cumque idem serenissimus noster Princeps visitatione sua regia eodem anno habita Injunctiones<sup>b</sup> quasdam subditorum salutem et gloriam Dei promoventes, per commissarios suos ad hoc deputatos, clero nostræ peculiaris jurisdictionis de Bocking prædict' observandas exhibuerit; quia tamen accepimus et comperimus quosdam, imo quamplurimos, quod dolemus, nostræ peculiaris jurisdictionis hujusmodi statutis non obtemperare, præmissa observare non curantes; nos, qui potius clementia quam severitate præesse volumus, quique hujusmodi hominum malitiam pietate paterna vincere conamur, ea demum vobis, aut uni vestrum per præsentis mandamus, quatenus clericis nostræ peculiaris jurisdictionis prædictæ ad subsequenda convocatis, in capellis vestris auctoritate nostra (seu potius regia) præcipiatis, quibus et nos sic præcipimus, uti sano consilio obtemperantes, omnia et singula præmissa summo cum studio et maxima cum diligentia, sub pœna privationis beneficiorum, observare curent: intimando iisdem, quod si aliqui in posterum circa præmissa se præstiterint culpabiles, nos, si beneficiati fuerint, sine dubio contra eosdem ad beneficiorum privationem, contra alios legitimis juris censuris processuros. Et quoniam nuper in eruditissimo concilio archiepiscoporum, episcoporum, ac aliorum doctorum virorum hujus regni, de rebus religionis consultantium, multa de religione controversa definita sunt, multaque populo ad vitæ institutionem explicata, quæ propediem uno volumine<sup>i</sup> congesta Regiæ Majestatis auctoritate emittentur; vobis mandamus, uti omnes et singulos clericos, quibus cura animarum committitur, moneatis, ut voluminis prædicti partem, sub pœna prædicta, ordine singulis diebus dominicis clara apertaque voce et suggesto populo legant. Et quid in præmissis feceritis, ille vestrum, qui præmissa executus fuerit, cum ad hoc requisitus fuerit, debite certificet. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum præsentibus apponi fecimus. Dat' in manerio nostro apud Ford, 10. die mensis Sep' A. D. MDXXXVII. et nostræ consecrat' v.

<sup>b</sup> [See Burnet, *Ref.* vol. i. App. B. III. No. 9.]

<sup>i</sup> [The book here referred to is *The Institution of a Christian Man*. Respecting its being issued by royal authority, see vol. i. Letter CLXXXIV. note (i).]

## XI.

*Archiepiscopi Cantuar' Epistola ad Regem pro Suffraganeo Doverensi.*

EXCELLENTISS' et potentiss' in Christo principi et D'no' nostro Strype, D'n' Henrico Octavo Dei gra' Angliæ et Fr' Regi, Fidei Defensori, et D'no' Hiberniæ, ac in terris Supremo Ecclesiæ Angl' Capiti, vester humilis orator et subditus Thomas, permissione divina Cantuar' Archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ Primas et Metropolitanus omnimod' reverentiam et observantiam tanto Principi debet' et condignas cum omni subjectionis honore. Ad sedem episcopalem de Doveria infra Cantuar' dioc' existen' dilectos mihi in C'to' Richardum Yngworth Priorem domus sive prioratus de Langley Regis, et Johannem Codenham, sacræ theologi professores, juxta et secundum vim, formam, et effectum statuti Parlamenti hujus inclyti regni vestri Angliæ in hoc casu editi et provisi, vestri Regiæ Majestati per has literas meas nomino et præsentō; ac eidem Majestati vestræ humiliter supplico, quatenus alteri eorum, (cui vestra Regia Majestas id munus conferend' præoptaverit) titulum, nomen, stylumq; et dignitatem episcopalem ac suffraganeam ad sedem prædictam misericorditer conferre: ipsumque mihi præfato Archiepiscopo, infra cujus dioc' et provinciam sedes antedicta consistit, per literas vestras patentes Regias intuitu charitatis punctare, mihiq; mandare dignetur vestra Regia Majestas, quatenus ipsum sic nominatum et præsentatum, in episcopum suffraganeum sedis prædict' juxta formam statuti prædict' effectualiter consecrem et benedicam: cæteraque faciam et exequar in ea parte, quæ ad effectum meum Archiepiscopale spectaverint, seu requisita fuerint in præmissis. Vivat denique et valeat in multos annos vestra Regia Celsitudo prælibata in eo per quem reges regnant et principes dominantur. Dat' apud Lambeth primo die mensis Decembr', anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo septimo: et regni vestri florētiss. vicesimo nono.

*Cranm.*  
App. No.  
21. from  
Cranmer's  
Register.

## XII.

*Archiepiscopi Cantuar' Litera Commissionalis ad Richardum, Suffraganeum Dovorensem.*

Strype,  
Cranm.  
App. No.  
22. from  
Cranmer's  
Register.

THOMAS, permissione divina Cant' Archiep' tot' Angl' Primas et Metropolitanus, venerabili confratri nostro Dom' Richardo, Dei gra' sedis Doveriæ nostræ diocesios Cant' Suffraganeo, salutem, et fraternam in Domino charitatem. De tuis fidelitate et circumspectionis industria plenam in Domino fiduciam obtinentes, ad confirmandum sacri chrismatis unctione pueros quoscunque infra civitatem et diocesan nostras Cant', et jurisdictiones nostras, et Ecclesiæ nostræ Christ' Cant' immediatas, ac jurisdictionem nostram villæ Calisiæ, et marchias ejusdem sub obedientia Excellentiss' Principis et Domini nostri, Domini Hen' Oct' Dei gratia Angl' et Fr' Regis, Fidei Defensoris, et Domini Hib' ac in terris sub Christo Ecclesiæ Anglic' Capitis Supremi ubilibet constitut': necnon altaria, calices, vestimenta, et alia Ecclesiæ ornamenta quæcunque et ea concernen' benedicend', locaque profana siquæ inveneris, de quibus te inquirere volumus, a divinorum celebratione ultime suspendend', ecclesias etiam et cœmeteria sanguinis vel seminis effusione polluta forsitan vel polluend' reconciliand', ecclesias et altaria noviter ædificat' consecrand', omnes ordines minores quibuscunque civitatis, diocesios, et jurisdictionum nostrarum prædictarum ipsos ordines a te recipere volentib' et ad hoc habilibus ad jurejurandum de renuntiando Rom' Episcopo et ejus auctoritati ac de acceptando regiam Majestatem pro Supremo Capite Ecclesiæ Anglic' juxta statuta hujus regni in hac parte edita ab eisdem ordinand' et eorum quolibet per te primitus recepto, conferend': ac etiam oleum sanctum chrismatis et sacræ unctionis consecrand': cæteraque omnia et singula, quæ ad officium pontificale in præmissis vel aliquo præmissorum quovis modo pertinent, vel pertinere poterunt, faciend' exercend' et expediend', tibi tenore præsentium committimus vices nostras, et plenam in Domino potestatem: teque quoad præmissa Suffraganeum nostrum ordinamus et præficimus per præsentem; donec eas ad nos duxerimus revocand'. Et ut officium tuum hujusmodi possis in præmissis liberius exercere, universis et singulis decanis, rectoribus, vicariis, capellanis, curatis, et non curatis, clericis et apparitoribus quibuscunque in virtute sacræ [suæ] obedientiæ firmiter tenore præ-

sentium injungendo mandamus, quatenus tibi in præmissis et quolibet præmissorum sint obedientes, assistentes, et intendentes in omnibus, prout decet. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum præsentibus est appensum. Dat' in manerio nostro de Lamehith, decimo die Decembr' anno Domini mill' quin' xxxvii. et nostræ consecrationis anno quinto.

### XIII.

*A Declaration to be read by all Curates upon the publishing of the Bible in English<sup>k</sup>.*

WHERE it hath pleased the King's Majesty, our most dread Sovereign Lord and Supreme Head under God of this Church of England, for a declaration of the great zeal he beareth to the setting forth of God's word, and to the virtuous maintenance of his commonwealth, to permit and command the Bible, being translated into our mother tongue, to be sincerely taught and declared by us the Curates, and to be openly laid forth in every parish church: to the intent that all his good subjects, as well by reading thereof, as by hearing the true explanation of the same, may first learn their duties to Almighty God and his Majesty, and every of us charitably to use other: and then applying themselves to do according to that they shall hear and learn, may both speak and do Christianly; and in all things, as it becometh Christian men: Because his Highness very much desireth that this thing, being by him most godly begun and set forward, may of all you be received as is aforesaid; his Majesty hath willed and commanded this to be declared unto you, that his Grace's pleasure and high commandment is, that in the reading and hearing thereof, first most humbly and reverently using and addressing yourselves unto it, you shall have always in your remembrance and memories, that all things contained in this book is the undoubted will, law, and commandment of Almighty God,

<sup>k</sup> ["Now, [viz. 1538.] the Holy Bible was divulged and exposed to common sale, and appointed to be had in every parish church. And then, "that the sacred book might be used with the more benefit both of the "clergy and lay people, for this reason a Declaration was issued out, to be "read openly by all curates upon the publishing of this Bible." Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 63. See Preface, and Letters cxcii. ccxlviii.]

the only and straight mean to know the goodness and benefits of God towards us, and the true duty of every Christian man to serve Him accordingly. And that therefore reading this book with such mind and firm faith as is aforesaid, you shall first endeavour yourselves to conform your own livings and conversation to the contents of the same. And so by your good and virtuous example to encourage your wives, children, and servants to live well and Christianly, according to the rule thereof.

And if at any time by reading, any doubt shall come to any of you, touching the sense and meaning of any part thereof; that then, not giving too much to your own minds, fantasies, and opinions, nor having thereof any open reasoning in your open taverns or alehouses, ye shall have recourse to such learned men as be or shall be authorised to preach and declare the same: So that avoiding all contentions and disputations in such alehouses, and other places unmeet for such conferences, and submitting your opinions to the judgments of such learned men as shall be appointed in this behalf, his Grace may well perceive, that you use this most high benefit quietly and charitably every one of you, to the edifying of himself, his wife, and family, in all things answering to his Highness' good opinion conceived of you, in the advancement of virtue and suppressing of vice; without failing to use such discreet quietness and sober moderation in the premises, as is aforesaid; as you tender his Grace's pleasure, and intend to avoid his high indignation, and the peril and danger that may ensue to you and every of you for the contrary.

And God save the King.

## XIII.

*A Book containing divers Articles, De Unitate Dei et Trinitate Personarum, De Peccato Originali, &c.*

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## 1. De Unitate Dei et Trinitate Personarum.

De Unitate Essentiæ Divinæ et de Tribus Personis, censemus State Paper  
decretum Nicenæ Synodi verum, et sine ulla dubitatione creden- Office, Ec-  
dum esse, videlicet, quod sit una Essentia Divina, quæ et appella- clesiastical  
tur et est *Deus, æternus, incorporeus, impartibilis, immensa po-* Papers.  
*tentia, sapientia, bonitate, Creator et Conservator omnium rerum*  
*visibilem et invisibilem, et tamen tres sint personæ ejusdem es-*

## “ CONFESSIO AUGUSTANA, 1531.

## “ ARTICULI FIDEI PRÆCIPUI.

## “ 1. De Deo.

“ Ecclesiæ magno consensu apud nos docent, decretum Nicenæ Synodi, de unitate essentiæ divinæ, et de tribus personis, verum et sine ulla dubitatione credendum esse. Videlicet, quod sit una essentia divina, quæ appellatur et est *Deus, æternus, incorporeus, impartibilis, immensa potentia, sapientia, bonitate, creator et conservator omnium rerum visibilem et invisibilem, et tamen tres sint personæ, ejusdem essentia et potentia, et coæternæ, Pater, Filius, et Spiritus sanctus.* Et nomine personæ utuntur ea significatione, qua usi sunt in hac causa

[These Articles are taken from a bundle of Archbishop Cranmer's papers preserved in the State Paper Office. It may be conjectured, as has been stated in the Preface, that they were agreed on at the conferences held in London between the English and German divines in 1538. They bear a strong resemblance both to the Confession of Augsburg, and to the Forty-two Articles of Edward VI; and probably may have been borrowed from the one, and have furnished materials to the other. To facilitate comparison, the first seventeen Articles of the Confession of Augsburg, in which the imitation is the closest, have been annexed. Both in these and in the text, the words that are also found in the Formulary of Edw. VI. are printed in Italics. It will be observed that they are not always the same; expressions occurring in this book of Articles and in the Formulary of Edw. VI, which are not used in the Confession of Augsburg. See Preface.]

*sentia et potentia, et coeternæ, Pater, Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus;* et nomine personæ utimur ea significatione qua usi sunt in hac causa scriptores ecclesiastici, ut significet non partem aut qualitatem in alio, sed quod proprie subsistit. Damnamus omnes hæreses contra hunc articulum exortas, ut Manicheos, qui duo principia ponebant, bonum et malum: item Valentinianos, Arianos, Eunomianos, Mahometistas, et omnes horum similes. Damnamus et Samosatenos, veteres et neotericos, qui cum tantum unam personam esse contendunt, de Verbo et Spiritu Sancto astute et impie rhetoricantur, quod non sint personæ distinctæ, sed quod Verbum significet verbum vocale, et Spiritus motum in rebus creatum.

## 2. De Peccato Originali.

Omnes homines, secundum naturam *propagati*, nascuntur cum peccato originali; hoc est cum carentia *originalis justitiæ* debitæ inesse, unde sunt filii iræ, et deficiunt cognitione Dei, metu Dei, fiducia erga Deum, etc. Et habent concupiscentiam, repugnantem legi Dei; estque hic morbus seu vitium originis vere peccatum, damnans et afferens nunc quoque æternam mortem his qui non renascuntur per Baptismum et Spiritum Sanctum. Damnamus Pelagianos, et alios, qui vitium originis negant esse peccatum, et ut extenuent gloriam meriti et beneficiorum Christi, disputant hominem viribus naturalibus sine Spiritu

“ scriptores ecclesiastici, ut significet non partem aut qualitatem in alio, sed quod proprie subsistit.

“ Damnant omnes hæreses, contra hunc articulum exortas, ut Manicheos, qui duo principia ponebant, bonum et malum. Item Valentinianos, Arianos, Eunomianos, Mahometistas et omnes horum similes. Damnant et Samosatenos, veteres et neotericos, qui, cum tantum unam personam esse contendunt, de Verbo et de Spiritu sancto astute et impie rhetoricantur, quod non sint personæ distinctæ, sed quod Verbum significet verbum vocale, et Spiritus motum in rebus creatum.

## “ 2. De Peccato Originis.

“ Item docent, quod post lapsum Adæ omnes homines, secundum naturam *propagati*, nascuntur cum peccato, hoc est, sine metu Dei, sine fiducia erga Deum, et cum concupiscentia, quodque hic morbus, seu vitium originis vere sit peccatum, damnans et afferens nunc quoque æternam mortem his qui non renascuntur per baptismum et Spiritum Sanctum.

“ Damnant Pelagianos, et alios, qui vitium originis negant esse peccatum; et ut extenuent gloriam meriti et beneficiorum Christi, dis-



Sancto posse legi Dei satisfacere, et propter honesta opera rationis pronunciari justum coram Deo.

### 3. De Duabus Christi Naturis.

Item docemus, quod *Verbum*, hoc est *Filius Dei*, *assumpserit humanam naturam in utero Beatae Mariæ Virginis, ut sint duæ naturæ, divina et humana, in unitate personæ inseparabiliter conjunctæ, unus Christus, vere Deus, et vere homo, natus ex Virgine Maria, vere passus, crucifixus, mortuus, et sepultus, ut reconciliaret nobis Patrem, et hostia esset non tantum pro culpa originis, sed etiam pro omnibus actualibus hominum peccatis. Item descendit ad inferos, et vere resurrexit tertia die, deinde ascendit ad cælos, ut sedeat ad dexteram Patris et perpetuo regnet et dominetur omnibus creaturis, sanctificet credentes in ipsum, misso in corde eorum Spiritu Sancto, qui regat, consoletur, ac vivificet eos, ac defendat adversus Diabolum et vim peccati. Idem Christus palam est rediturus ut judicet vivos et mortuos, &c. juxta Symbolum Apostolorum.*

### 4. De Justificatione.

Item de Justificatione docemus, quod ea proprie significat remissionem peccatorum et acceptationem seu reconciliationem nostram in gratiam et favorem Dei; hoc est veram renovationem in Christo, et quod peccatores, licet non assequantur hanc

“putant hominem propriis viribus rationis coram Deo justificari  
“posse.”

### 3. De Filio Dei.

“Item docent, quod *Verbum*, hoc est, *Filius Dei*, *assumpserit humanam naturam in utero beatae Mariæ Virginis, ut sint duæ naturæ, divina et humana, in unitate personæ inseparabiliter conjunctæ, unus Christus, vere Deus, et vere homo, natus ex Virgine Maria, vere passus, crucifixus, mortuus, et sepultus, ut reconciliaret nobis Patrem, et hostia esset non tantum pro culpa originis, sed etiam pro omnibus actualibus hominum peccatis. Idem descendit ad inferos, et vere resurrexit tertia die, deinde, ascendit ad cælos, ut sedeat ad dexteram Patris, et perpetuo regnet et dominetur omnibus creaturis, sanctificet credentes in ipsum, misso in corda eorum Spiritu sancto, qui regat, consoletur, ac vivificet eos, ac defendat adversus Diabolum et vim peccati. Idem Christus palam est rediturus, ut judicet vivos et mortuos etc. juxta Symbolum Apostolorum.*

### 4. De Justificatione.

“Item docent, quod homines non possint justificari coram Deo propriis viribus, meritis, aut operibus, sed gratis justificentur propter Christum per fidem, cum credunt se in gratiam recipi, et peccata re-

justificationem absque pœnitentia, et bono ac propenso motu cordis quem Spiritus Sanctus efficit erga Deum et proximum, non tamen propter dignitatem aut meritum pœnitentiæ aut ullorum operum seu meritorum suorum justificantur, sed gratis propter Christum per fidem, cum credunt se in gratiam recipi, et peccata sua propter Christum remitti, qui sua morte pro nostris peccatis satisfecit. Hanc fidem imputat Deus pro justitia coram ipso. Rom. 3<sup>o</sup>. et 4<sup>o</sup>. Fidem vero intelligimus non inanem et otiosam, sed eam "quæ per dilectionem operatur." Est enim vera et Christiana fides de qua hic loquimur, non sola notitia articulorum fidei, aut credulitas doctrinæ Christianæ duntaxat historica, sed una cum illa notitia et credulitate, firma fiducia misericordiæ Dei promissæ propter Christum, qua videlicet certo persuademus ac statuimus eum etiam nobis misericordem et propitium. Et hæc fides vere justificat, vere est salutifera, non ficta, mortua, aut hypocritica, sed necessario habet spem et charitatem sibi individue conjunctas, ac etiam studium bene vivendi, et bene operatur pro loco et occasione. Nam bona opera ad salutem sunt necessaria, non quod de impio justum faciunt, nec quod sunt pretium pro peccatis, aut causa justificationis, sed quia necessum est, ut qui jam fide justificatus est et reconciliatus Deo per Christum, voluntatem Dei facere studeat juxta illud: "Non omnis qui dicit mihi Domine, Domine, intra-  
bit regnum cœlorum, sed qui facit voluntatem Patris mei, qui in cœlis est." Qui vero hæc opera facere non studet, sed secundum carnem vivit, neque veram fidem habet, neque justus est, neque

"mitti propter Christum, qui sua morte pro nostris peccatis satisfecit.  
"Hanc fidem imputat Deus pro justitia coram ipso. Rom. iii. et iv.

#### " 5. De Ministerio Eccles.

"Ut hanc fidem consequamur, institutum est ministerium docendi  
"Evangelii et porrigendi Sacramenta. Nam per verbum et sacramenta,  
"tanquam per instrumenta, donatur Spiritus sanctus, qui fidem efficit,  
"ubi et quando visum est Deo, in iis qui audiunt Evangelium, scilicet  
"quod Deus non propter nostra merita, sed propter Christum justificet,  
"hos qui credunt, se propter Christum in gratiam recipi.

"Damnant Anabaptistas, et alios, qui sentiunt Spiritum sanctum  
"contingere sine verbo externo hominibus per ipsorum præparationes et  
"opera.

#### " 6. De Nova Obedientia.

"Item docent, quod fides illa debeat bonos fructus parere, et quod  
"oporteat bona opera, mandata a Deo facere, propter voluntatem Dei,  
"non ut confidamus per ea opera justificationem coram Deo mereri.

vitam æternam (nisi ex animo resipiscat, et vere pœniteat) assequetur<sup>m</sup>.

Ut hanc fidem consequamur, institutum est ministerium docendi Evangelii et porrigendi Sacramenta. Nam per verbum et sacramenta tanquam per instrumenta donatur Spiritus Sanctus, qui fidem efficit, ubi et quando visum est Deo, in his qui audiunt Evangelium, scilicet quod Deus non propter nostra merita sed propter Christum justificet pœnitentes, qui credunt se propter Christum in gratiam recipi. Damnamus Anabaptistas, et alios, qui sentiunt Spiritum Sanctum contingere sine verbo externo hominibus per ipsorum præparationes et opera.

### 5. De Ecclesia<sup>n</sup>.

Ecclesia præter alias acceptiones in scripturis duas habet præcipuas : unam, qua Ecclesia accipitur pro congregatione omnium

“ Nam remissio peccatorum et justificatio fide apprehenditur, sicut testatur ex vox Christi : ‘ Cum feceritis hæc omnia, dicite, servi inutiles sumus.’ Idem docent et veteres scriptores ecclesiastici ; Ambrosius enim inquit, ‘ Hoc constitutum est a Deo, ut qui credit in Christum, salvus sit, sine opere, sola fide, gratis accipiens remissionem peccatorum.’

### “ 7. De Ecclesia.

“ Item docent, quod una sancta Ecclesia perpetuo mansura sit. Est autem Ecclesia congregatio sanctorum, in qua Evangelium recte doce-

<sup>m</sup> [Thus far this Article is printed by Strype, (*Memor. App.* vol. i. No. 112.) from the Cotton MS. Cleop. E. v. fol. 1. There is another copy, Cleop. E. v. fol. 93.]

<sup>n</sup> [A draft of this Article, corrected by Hen. VIII.'s own hand, is preserved in the Cotton Library. It has been printed by Burnet and Strype ; but it is subjoined here, to show the manner in which the King's alterations were partly adopted and partly rejected by the Commissioners. Respecting the clause, “ Modo rectoribus,” &c. there seems to have been some dispute, which was still unsettled when the copy in the State Paper Office was written : for a space is left vacant at that part of the manuscript ; and a paragraph, containing the substance, but not the words of the King's amendment, is appended on a loose slip of paper ; as if it had been agreed on afterwards, and was intended to be added in the place reserved for it. This paragraph is distinguished by the brackets in the text. In the Article below, the brackets mark the words erased by Hen. VIII. and the margin contains his proposed amendments.

### “ De Ecclesia.

“ Ecclesia præter alias acceptiones in Scripturis duas habet præcipuas : unam, qua Ecclesia accipitur pro congregatione sanctorum et vere fidelium  
 “ qui Christo capiti vere credunt, et sanctificantur Spiritu ejus : hæc autem [unum\*] est, et vere [† sanctum corpus Christi] sed soli Deo \* una.  
 “ † cognitum, qui hominum corda solus [‡ intuetur.] Altero ac- † Sponsus Christi.  
 “ ceptio est, qua Ecclesia accipitur pro congregatione omnium ho- ‡ cognita.  
 “ minum qui baptizati sunt in Christo, et non palam abnegarint § intuitur.  
 “ Christum, nec sunt ¶ excommunicati ¶ : quæ Ecclesiæ acceptio ¶ Juste.  
 “ congruit ejus statui in hac vita duntaxat, ubi habet malos bonis ¶ Aut obstinati.

sanctorum et vere fidelium, qui Christo capiti vere credunt et sanctificantur Spiritu ejus. Hæc autem vivum est et vere sanctum Christi corpus mysticum, sed soli Deo cognitum, qui hominum corda solus intuetur. Altera acceptio est qua Ecclesia accipitur pro congregatione omnium hominum qui baptizati sunt in Christo et non palam abnegarunt Christum, nec juste et per ejus verbum sunt excommunicati. Ista Ecclesiæ acceptio congruit ejus statui in hac vita duntaxat, in qua boni malis sunt admixti et debet esse cognita ut possit audiri juxta illud: "Qui Ecclesiam non audierit," &c. Cognoscitur autem per professionem Evangelii et communionem sacramentorum. Hæc est Ecclesia catholica et apostolica, quæ non Episcopatus Romani aut cujusvis alterius Ecclesiæ finibus circumscribitur, sed universas totius Christianismi complectitur Ecclesias, quæ simul unam efficiunt catholicam. In hac autem catholica Ecclesia nulla particularis Ecclesia, sive Romana illa fuerit, sive quævis alia, ex institutione Christi supra alias Ecclesias eminentiam vel auctoritatem ullam vindicare potest. Est vero hæc Ecclesia una, non quod in terris unum aliquod caput, seu unum quendam vicarium sub Christo habeat aut habuerit unquam, (quod sibi jam diu Pontifex Romanus divini juris prætextu vindicavit, cum tamen

"tur, et recte administrantur sacramenta. Et ad veram unitatem Ecclesiæ, satis est consentire de doctrina Evangelii et administratione sacramentorum. Nec necesse est ubique esse similes traditiones humanas, seu ritus aut ceremonias, ab hominibus institutas. Sicut inquit Paulus: 'Una fides, unum baptisma, unus Deus et Pater omniū,' etc.

\*\* Et cognitio hujus Ecclesiæ pervenit per usum verbi et sacramentorum acceptione perfecta unitate ac unanimi consensu acceptata. Ista est Ecclesia nostra catholica et apostolica, cum qua nec pontifex Romanus, nec quivis aliquis prælatus aut pontifex, habet quicquid agere præterquam in suis dioceses. †† Modo rectoribus placeant, quibus semper obtemperandum est, sic tamen ut eorum jussio atque lex verbo Dei non adversetur. simul admixtos \*\*, [et debet esse cognita per verbum et legitimum usum sacramentorum] ut possit audiri; sicut docet Christus, 'Qui Ecclesiam non audierit.' Porro ad veram unitatem Ecclesiæ, requiritur ut sit consensus in recta doctrina fidei et administratione sacramentorum. Traditiones vero et ritus atque cæremoniæ quæ vel ad decorem, vel ordinem, vel disciplinam Ecclesiæ ab hominibus sunt institutæ, non omnino necesse est, ut eadem sint ubique aut prorsus similes: hæ enim et variæ fuere et variari possunt †† pro regionum atque morum diversitate et commodo, [sic tamen ut sint consentientes verbo Dei:] et quamvis in Ecclesia secundum posteriorem acceptionem mali sint bonis admixti, atque etiam ministeriis verbi et sacramentorum nonnunquam præsent, tamen cum ministrent non suo sed Christi nomine, mandato, et auctoritate, licet eorum ministerio uti, tam in verbo audiendo quam recipiendis sacramentis, juxta illud, 'Qui vos audit, me audit:' nec per eorum malitiam imminuitur effectus aut gratia donorum Christi rite accipientibus; sunt enim efficacia propter promissionem et ordinationem Christi, etiamsi per malos exhibeantur."

revera divino jure nihil amplius illi sit concessum quam alii cuivis episcopo,) sed ideo una dicitur, quia universi Christiani in vinculo pacis colligati unum caput Christum agnoscunt, cujus se profitentur esse corpus, unum agnoscunt Dominum, unam fidem, unum baptisma, unum Deum ac Patrem omnium.

*Traditiones vero, et ritus, atque ceremoniæ, quæ vel ad decorem vel ordinem vel disciplinam Ecclesiæ ab hominibus sunt institutæ, non omnino necesse est ut eædem sint ubique aut prorsus similes. Hæ enim et variæ fuere, et variari possunt pro regionum et morum diversitate, ubi decus, ordo, et utilitas Ecclesiæ videbuntur postulare:*

[Hæ enim et variæ fuere, et variari possunt pro regionum et morum diversitate, ubi decus decensque ordo principibus rectoribusque regionum videbuntur postulare; ita tamen ut nihil varietur aut instituat contra verbum Dei manifestum.]

Et quamvis in Ecclesia secundum posteriorem acceptionem mali sint bonis admixti, atque etiam ministeriis verbi et sacramentorum nonnunquam præsent; tamen cum ministrent non suo sed Christi nomine, mandato, et auctoritate, licet eorum ministerio uti, tam in verbo audiendo quam in recipiendis sacramentis juxta illud: "Qui vos audit, me audit." Nec per eorum malitiam minuitur effectus, aut gratia donorum Christi rite accipientibus; sunt enim efficacia propter promissionem et ordinationem Christi, etiamsi per malos exhibeantur.

## 6. De Baptismo P.

De Baptismo dicimus, quod Baptismus a Christo sit institutus, et sit necessarius ad salutem, et quod per Baptismum offerantur

### " 8. Quid sit Ecclesia.

"Quamquam Ecclesia proprie sit congregatio sanctorum et vere crederentium; tamen, cum in hac vita multi hypocritæ et mali admixti sint, licet uti sacramentis, quæ per malos administrantur, juxta vocem Christi: 'Sedent Scribæ et Pharisei in cathedra Moysi' etc. Et sacramenta et verbum propter ordinationem et mandatum Christi sunt efficacia, etiamsi per malos exhibeantur.

"Damnant Donatistas et similes, qui negabant licere uti ministerio malorum in Ecclesia, et sentiebant ministerium malorum inutile et inefficax esse.

\* [There is a space left blank here in the original manuscript; and the paragraph included within the brackets is written on a loose slip of paper. See note (n) p. 277.]

P [In Strype, *Memor. App.* vol. i. No. 112. from Cott. MSS. Cleop. E. v.]

remissio peccatorum et gratia Christi, infantibus et adultis. Et quod non debeat iterari Baptismus, et quod infantes debeant baptizari. Et quod infantes per Baptismum consequantur remissionem peccatorum et gratiam, et sint filii Dei, quia promissio gratiæ et vitæ æternæ pertinet non solum ad adultos, sed etiam ad infantes. Et hæc promissio per ministerium in Ecclesia infantibus et adultis administrari debet. Quia vero infantes nascuntur cum peccato originis, habent opus remissione illius peccati, et illud ita remittitur ut reatus tollatur, licet corruptio naturæ seu concupiscentia manet in hac vita, etsi incipit sanari, quia Spiritus Sanctus in ipsis etiam infantibus est efficax et eos mundat. Probamus igitur sententiam Ecclesiæ quæ damnavit Pelagianos, quia negabant infantibus esse peccatum originis. Damnamus et Anabaptistas qui negant infantes baptizandos esse. De adultis vero docemus, quod ita consequuntur per Baptismum remissionem peccatorum et gratiam, si baptizandi attulerint pœnitentiam veram, confessionem articulorum fidei, et credant vere ipsis ibi donari remissionem peccatorum et justificationem propter Christum, sicut Petrus ait in Actis: "Pœnitentiam agite, et baptizetur unusquisque vestrum in nomine Jesu Christi in remissionem peccatorum, et accipietis donum Spiritus Sancti."

#### 7. De Eucharistia 9.

De Eucharistia constanter credimus et docemus, quod in sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini, vere, substantialiter, et realiter adsint corpus et sanguis Christi sub speciebus panis et vini. Et quod sub eisdem speciebus vere et realiter exhibentur et distribuuntur illis qui sacramentum accipiunt, sive bonis sive malis 1.

#### " 9. De Baptismo.

" De Baptismo docent, quod sit necessarius ad salutem, quodque per Baptismum offeratur gratia Dei; et quod pueri sint baptizandi, qui per Baptismum oblati Deo recipiantur in gratiam Dei.

" Damnant Anabaptistas, qui improbant Baptismum puerorum, et affirmant pueros sine Baptismo salvos fieri.

#### " 10. De Cœna Domini.

" De Cœna Domini docent, quod corpus et sanguis Christi vere adsint, et distribuuntur vescentibus in Cœna Domini, et improbant secus docentes.

9 [In Strype, *Memor. App.* vol. i. No. 112. from Cott. MSS. Cleop. E. v.]

1 [The terms of this Article are precisely those which were agreed on in Germany by the Lutheran and the English divines, in the winter of 1535. See Seckendorf, *Comment. de Lutheran.* lib. iii. §. xxxix. Add. (f).]

8. De Pœnitentia <sup>s</sup>.

Summam et ineffabilem suam erga peccatores clementiam et misericordiam Deus Opt. Max. apud Prophetam declarans hisce verbis, “Vivo ego, dicit Dominus Deus, nolo mortem impij, “sed ut impius convertatur a via sua et vivat,” ut hujus tantæ clementiæ ac misericordiæ peccatores participes efficerentur, saluberrime instituit Pœnitentiam, quæ sit omnibus resipiscentibus velut antidotum quoddam et efficax remedium adversus desperationem et mortem. Cujus quidem Pœnitentiæ tantam necessitatem esse fatemur, ut quotquot a Baptismo in mortalia peccata prolapsi sint, nisi in hac vita resipiscentes Pœnitentiam egerint, æternæ mortis judicium effugere non poterint. Contra [vero <sup>t</sup>] qui ad misericordiam Dei per Pœnitentiam tanquam ad asylum confugerint, quantiscunque peccatis obnoxii sunt, si ab illis serio conversi Pœnitentiam egerint, peccatorum omnium veniam ac remissionem indubie consequentur. Porro quoniam peccare a nobis est, resurgere vero a peccatis, Dei opus est et donum, valde utile et necessarium esse arbitramur docere, et cujus beneficium sit ut veram salutaremque Pœnitentiam agamus, et quænam illa sit ac quibus ex rebus constet, de qua loquimur Pœnitentia.

Dicimus itaque Pœnitentiæ per quam peccator a morte animæ resurgit, et denuo in gratiam cum Deo redit, Spiritum Sanctum auctorem esse et effectorem, nec quemquam posse sine hujus arcano afflatu, peccata sua salutariter vel agnoscere vel odio habere, multo minus remissionem peccatorum a Deo sperare aut assequi. Qui quidem sacer Spiritus Pœnitentiæ initium, progressum, et finem, cæteraque omnia quæ veram Pœnitentiam perficiunt in anima peccatrice, hoc (quem docebimus) ordine ac modo operatur et efficit.

## “ 11. De Confessione.

“De confessione docent, quod absolutio privata in Ecclesiis retinenda “sit, quanquam in confessione non sit necessaria omnium delictorum “enumeratio. Est enim impossibilis juxta Psalmum : ‘Delicta quis intellit?’

<sup>s</sup>[Styrye has printed two articles De Pœnitentia ; the second is in great part the same with that here given. The Cotton MS. from which he took them, contains no less than four drafts of articles on this point.]

<sup>t</sup>[There is a draft of this Article in the State Paper Office, with corrections in the handwriting of Cranmer. Some of these were adopted in the fair copy, and are distinguished by brackets. Those which were rejected are noticed as they occur.]

Principio, facit ut peccator per verbum peccata sua agnoscat, et veros conscientiae terrores concipiat, dum sentit Deum irasci peccato, utque serio et ex corde doleat ac ingemiscat, quod Deum offenderit; quam peccati agnitionem, dolorem, et animi pavorem ob Deum offensum, sequitur peccati confessio, quæ fit Deo dum rea conscientia peccatum suum Deo confitetur, et sese apud Deum accusat et damnat, et sibi petit ignosci. Psalm 31. "Delictum meum cognitum tibi feci, et injustitiam mea non abscondi. Dixi, confitebor adversum me injustitiam meam Domino, et tu remisisti impietatem peccati mei." Atque hæc coram Deo confessio conjunctam habet certam fiduciam misericordiae divinæ et remissionis peccatorum propter Christum, qua fiducia conscientia jam erigitur et pavore liberatur, ac certo statuit Deum sibi esse propitium, non merito aut dignitate poenitentiae, aut suorum operum, sed ex gratuita misericordia propter Christum, qui solus est hostia, satisfactio, ac unica propitiatio pro peccatis nostris. Ad hæc adest et certum animi propositum vitam totam in melius commutandi, ac studium faciendi voluntatem Dei et perpetuo abstinendi a peccatis. Nam vitæ novitatem sive fructus dignos Poenitentiae ad totius Poenitentiae perfectionem necessario requirit Deus, juxta illud, Rom. 6<sup>o</sup>: "Sicut exhibuistis membra vestra servire immunditiae et iniquitati, ad iniquitatem, ita nunc exhibete membra vestra servire justitiae, in sanctificationem."

Atque hæc quidem omnia, agnitionem peccati, odium peccati, dolorem pavoremque pro peccatis, peccati coram Deo confessionem, firmam fiduciam remissionis peccatorum propter Christum, una cum certo animi proposito postea semper a peccatis per Dei gratiam abstinendi et serviendi justitiae, Spiritus Sanctus in nobis operatur et efficit, modo nos illius afflatui obsequamur, nec gratiae Dei nos ad Poenitentiam invitanti repugnemus.

Cæterum cum has res quæ Poenitentiam efficiunt maxima pars Christiani populi ignoret, nec quomodo agenda sit vera Poenitentia intelligat, nec ubi speranda sit remissio peccatorum norit, ut in his rebus omnibus melius instituatur et doceatur, non so-

#### " 12. De Poenitentia.

"De Poenitentia docent, quod lapsis post Baptismum contingere possit remissio peccatorum, quocunque tempore, cum convertuntur. Et quod Ecclesia talibus redeuntibus ad Poenitentiam absolutionem impertiri debeat.

"Constat autem Poenitentia proprie his duabus partibus: altera est,



lum concionatores et pastores diligenter in publicis concionibus populum de hac re informare, et quid sit vera Pœnitentia, ex sacris literis sincere prædicare debent, verum etiam valde utilem ac summe necessariam<sup>u</sup> esse dicimus peccatorum confessionem, quæ auricularis dicitur, et privatim fit ministris Ecclesiæ.

Quæ sane confessio modis omnibus in Ecclesia retinenda est et magnificianda, cum propter hominum imperitorum institutionem in verbo Dei, et alia commoda non pauca, (de quibus mox dicemus) tum præcipue propter absolutionis beneficium, hoc est remissionem peccatorum, quæ in hac confessione confitentibus offertur et exhibetur per absolutionem et potestatem clavium, juxta illud Christi. Joan. 20. "Quorum remiseritis peccata," &c. Cui absolutioni certo oportet credere. Est enim vox Evangelii, qua minister per verbum, non suo sed Christi nomine et autoritate, remissionem peccatorum confitenti annuntiat ac offert. Cui voci Evangelii per ministrum sonanti, dum confitens certa fide credit et assentitur, illico conscientia ejus fit certa de remissione peccatorum, et jam certo secum statuit Deum sibi propitium ac misericordem esse. Quæ una profecto res Christianos omnes magnopere debet permovere, ut confessionem, in qua per absolutionem gratiæ et remissionis peccatorum certitudo concipitur et confirmatur, modis omnibus et ament et amplectantur. Et in hac privata absolutione sacerdos potestatem habet absolvendi confitentem ab omnibus peccatis, etiam illis qui soliti sunt vocari casus reservati, ita tamen ut ille privatim absolutus, nihilominus pro manifestis criminibus (si in jus vocetur) publicis judiciis subiaceat.

Accedunt huc et alia confessionis arcanæ commoda, quorum unum est, quod indocti ac imperiti homines nusquam [commodius<sup>x</sup>] aut melius quam in confessione de doctrina Christiana institui possint, [modo confessorem doctum et pium nacti fuerint.] Nam cum animos attentos ac dociles in confessione afferunt, diligenter ad ea quæ a sacerdote dicuntur animum advertunt.

"contritio seu terrores incussi conscientiæ agnito peccato. Altera est, "fides, quæ concipitur ex Evangelio seu absolutione, et credit propter "Christum remitti peccata, et consolatur conscientiam, et ex terroribus liberat. Deinde sequi debent bona opera, quæ sunt fructus Pœnitentiæ.

<sup>u</sup> [Cranmer proposed to substitute "commodissimam" for "summe necessariam."]

<sup>x</sup> ["Commodius" was substituted by Cranmer for "rectius."]

Quocirca et fides eorum explorari potest, et quid peccatum sit, quamque horrenda res sit, et quæ sint peccatorum inter se discrimina, ac quam graviter contra peccata irascitur Deus, a doctis ac piis pastoribus seu confessoribus [ex verbo Dei] doceri possunt ac informari. Multi enim, propterea quod hæc ignorent, in conscientiis sæpe graviter anguntur, illic trepidantes timore, ubi timor non est, qui (ut Servator ait) "culicem excollantes, camelum deglutiunt;" in minimis levissimisque peccatis valde anxii, de maximis et gravissimis non perinde pœnitentes. Sunt porro qui simili laborantes incititia propter immodicum timorem et animi pusillanimitatem de peccatorum venia fere desperant. Contra sunt, qui per hypocrisim superbientes seipsos adversus Deum erigunt, quasi aut sine peccato sint, aut ipsos pro peccatis Deus nolit punire.

Jam quis nescit quam utilis et necessaria ꝛ istiusmodi hominibus confessio sit, in qua hi verbo Dei dure increpandi arguendique sunt, ut peccatores se agnoscant, atque intelligant, quam horribiliter Deus peccata puniat. Contra, illis qui nimio timore desperant, suavissima Evangelii consolatio afferenda est. Ad hæc in confessione [ex verbo Dei] doceri homines possunt, non solum qua ratione Diaboli tentationes vincant, et carnem mortificent, ne ad priores vitæ sordes postea relabantur, verumetiam quibus remediis peccata omnia fugiant, ut non regnent in ipsis. Præterea illa animi humilitas qua homo homini propter Deum sese submittit, et pectoris sui arcana aperit, multarum profecto virtutum custos est et conservatrix. Quid quod pudor ille et erubescencia peccati quæ ex confessione oritur, præterquam quod animum a peccato ad Deum vere conversum indicat, etiam multos mortales a turpibus factis retrahit ac cohibet. Postremo, ut ille qui simpliciter et tanquam coram Deo peccata sua ministro Ecclesiæ confitetur, declarat se verum Dei timorem habere, ita hac animi humilitate discit Deum magis et timere et revereri, et innatam in corde superbiam reprimere, ut Dei voluntati facilius obsequatur et obtemperet. Jam vero, cum hæc ita se habeant,

"Damnant Anabaptistas, qui negant semel justificatos posse amittere Spiritum sanctum. Item, qui contendunt quibusdam tantam perfectionem in hac vita contingere, ut peccare non possint. Damnantur et Novatiani, qui nolebant absolvere lapsos post Baptismum redeuntes ad Pœnitentiam. Rejiciuntur et isti, qui non docent remissionem pec-

ꝛ [Cranmer proposed to read "commoda" for "necessaria."]

nihil dubitamus, quin omnes viri boni hanc confessionem tot nominibus utilem ac necessariam <sup>z</sup>, non solum in Ecclesia retinendam esse, sed magno etiam in pretio habendam judicent. Quod si qui sunt qui eam <sup>a</sup> vel damnant, vel rejiciunt, hi profecto se et in verbo Dei institutionem, et absolutionis beneficium, (quod in confessione datur) et alia multa atque ingentia commoda Christianis valde utilia, negligere et contemnere ostendunt; nec animadvertunt se in orbem Christianum maximam peccandi licentiam invehere, et magnam in omne scelus ruendi occasionem præbere.

Quod vero ad enumerationem peccatorum spectat, quemadmodum non probamus scrupulosam et anxiam, ne laqueum injiciat hominum conscientiis, ita censemus segnem et supinam negligentiam in re tam salutari magnopere periculosam esse et fugiendam <sup>b</sup>.

#### 9. De Sacramentorum Usu <sup>c</sup>.

Docemus, quod *Sacramenta quæ per verbum Dei instituta sunt, non tantum sint notæ professionis* inter Christianos, sed magis *certa quædam testimonia et efficacia signa gratiæ, et bonæ voluntatis Dei* erga nos, *per quæ Deus invisibiliter operatur in nobis*, et suam gratiam in nos invisibiliter diffundit, siquidem ea rite susceperimus, quodque per ea *excitatur et confirmatur fides* in his qui eis utuntur. Porro docemus, quod ita utendum sit sacramentis, ut in adultis, præter veram contritionem, necessario etiam debeat accedere fides, quæ credat præsentibus promissionibus, quæ per sacramenta ostenduntur, exhibentur, et præstantur.

“catorum per fidem contingere, sed docent remissionem peccatorum contingere propter nostram dilectionem et opera. Rejiciuntur et isti, qui Canonicas satisfactiones docent necessarias esse ad redimendas pœnas æternas, aut pœnas purgatorii.

#### “ 13. De Usu Sacramentorum.

“De usu Sacramentorum docent, quod *sacramenta instituta sint, non modo ut sint notæ professionis* inter homines, sed magis ut sint *signa et testimonia voluntatis Dei*, erga nos ad *excitandam et confirmandam fidem* in his qui utuntur proposita. Itaque utendum est sacramentis ita, ut fides accedat, quæ credat promissionibus quæ per sacramenta exhibentur et ostenduntur.

<sup>z</sup> [Cranmer wished to alter “necessarium” into “commodum,” and to add, “licet non sit præcepta in Scripturis, tamen prædictis de causis.”]

<sup>a</sup> [After “eam” Cranmer suggested the insertion of “temere.”]

<sup>b</sup> [In the draft corrected by Cranmer, the following addition appears in the margin, in his handwriting: “ut cujus conscientia de peccato uno aut pluribus affigitur, is consolationem, consilium, et absolutionem singulatim a sacerdote petere, et rem tam salutarem non negligere debeat.”]

<sup>c</sup> [In Strype, *Memor. App.* vol. i. No. 112. from Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. v.]

Neque enim in illis verum est, quod quidam dicunt, sacramenta conferre gratiam *ex opere operato* sine bono motu utentis, nam in ratione utentibus necessum est, ut fides etiam utentis accedat, per quam credat illis promissionibus, et accipiat res promissas, quæ per sacramenta conferantur. De infantibus vero cum temerarium sit eos a misericordia Dei excludere, præsertim cum Christus in Evangelio dicat; "Sinite parvulos ad me venire, talium est enim regnum cœlorum:" et alibi, "Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto, non potest intrare in regnum cœlorum:" cumque perpetua Ecclesiæ Catholicæ consuetudine, jam inde ab ipsis Apostolorum temporibus, receptum sit infantes debere baptizari in remissionem peccatorum et salutem, dicimus quod Spiritus Sanctus efficax sit in illis, et eos in Baptismo mundet, quemadmodum supra in Articulo de Baptismo dictum est.

#### 10. De Ministris Ecclesiæ.

De Ministris Ecclesiæ docemus, quod nemo debeat *publice* docere, *aut Sacramenta ministrare, nisi rite vocatus*, et quidem ab his, penes quos in *Ecclesia*, juxta verbum Dei, et leges ac consuetudines uniuscujusque regionis, jus est *vocandi* et admit-tendi. Et quod nullus ad Ecclesiæ ministerium vocatus, etiam-si episcopus sit sive Romanus, sive quicumque alius, hoc sibi jure divino vindicare possit, ut publice docere, Sacramenta ministrare, vel ullam aliam ecclesiasticam functionem in aliena diocesi aut parochia exercere valeat; hoc est, nec episcopus in alterius episcopi diocesi, nec parochus in alterius parochia. Et demum quod malitia ministri efficacis Sacramentorum nihil detrahat, ut jam supra docuimus in Articulo de Ecclesia.

#### 11. De Ritibus Ecclesiasticis.

Ritus, ceremoniæ, et ordinationes ecclesiasticæ humanitus institutæ, quæcunque prosunt ad eruditionem, disciplinam, tranquill-

"Damnant igitur illos, qui docent, quod sacramenta *ex opere operato* justificent, nec docent fidem requiri in usu sacramentorum, quæ creditur remitti peccata.

#### "14. De Ordine Ecclesiastico.

"De ordine ecclesiastico docent, quod nemo debeat in *Ecclesia publice* docere, *aut sacramenta administrare, nisi rite vocatus*.

#### "15. De Ritibus Ecclesiasticis.

"De ritibus ecclesiasticis docent, quod ritus illi servandi sint, qui sine peccato servari possunt, et prosunt ad tranquillitatem et bonum ordinem in Ecclesia, sicut certæ feriæ, festa et similia.

tatem, bonum ordinem, aut decorem in Ecclesia, servandæ sunt et amplectendæ, ut stata festa, jejunia, preces, et his similia.

De quibus admonendi sunt homines quod non sint illi cultus, quos Deus in Scriptura præcipit aut requirit, aut ipsa sanctimonia, sed quod ad illos cultus et ipsam sanctimoniam admodum utiles sunt, ac tum placent Deo, cum ex fide, charitate, et obedientia servantur. Sunt autem veri et genuini cultus, timor Dei, fides, dilectio, et cætera opera a Deo mandata. Ad quæ consequenda et præstanda, quoties ritus et traditiones adjumentum adferunt, diligenter servandæ sunt, non tanquam res in Scripturis a Deo exactæ, aut illis veris et genuinis cultibus æquandæ, sed tanquam res Ecclesiæ utiles, Deo gratæ, et adminicula veræ pietatis. Et quamvis ritus ac traditiones ejusmodi a Christianis observari debeant, propter causas quas ante diximus, tamen in illarum observatione ea libertatis Christianæ ratio habenda est, ut nemo se illis ita teneri putet, quin eas possit omittere, modo adsit justa violandi ratio et causa, et absit contemptus: nec per ejusmodi violationem proximi conscientia turbetur aut lædatur. Quod si ejusmodi ritus aut ordinationes alio animo ac consilio instituuntur, aut observantur, quam ut sint exercitia quædam, admonitiones, et pædagogicæ, quæ excitent et conducant ad eas res in quibus sita est vera pietas et justitia; nos talem institutionem et observationem omnino improbandam et rejiciendam esse dicimus. Non enim remissio peccatorum, justificatio, et vera pietas tribuenda est ejusmodi ritibus et traditionibus, (nam remissionem peccatoris et justificationem propter Christum gratis per fidem consequimur) sed hoc illis tribuendum est, quod quemadmodum nec sine legibus politicis civitas, ita nec sine ritibus ac traditionibus Ecclesiæ ordo servari, confusio vitari, juvenus ac vulgus imperitum erudiri potest, quodque ejusmodi ritus et traditiones ad pietatem et spirituales animi motus non parum adminiculantur et prosunt. Quod si ullæ traditiones aliquid præcipiunt contra verbum Dei, vel quod sine peccato præstari non potest, nos ejusmodi traditiones, tanquam noxias et pestiferas, ab Ecclesia tollendas esse censemus: impias etiam opiniones et superstitiones quæ Christi gloriam ac beneficium lædunt atque

“ De talibus rebus tamen admonentur homines, ne conscientia onerentur, tanquam talis cultus ad salutem necessarius sit.

“ Admonentur etiam, quod traditiones humanæ institutæ ad placandum Deum, ad promerendam gratiam, et satisfaciendum pro peccatis, adversentur Evangelio et doctrinæ fidei. Quare vota et traditiones de

obscurant, quoties vel populi ignorantia ac simplicitate, vel prava doctrina aut negligentia pastorum, traditionibus ullis annectuntur et hærent, resecandas penitus et abolendas esse judicamus. Præterea etiam hoc docendi sunt homines, quod ejusmodi rituum ac traditionum externa observatio Deo minime grata sit, nisi his, qui illis utuntur, animus adsit qui eas referat ad pietatem, propter quam institutæ sunt. Ad hæc, quod inter præcepta Dei, et ritus sive traditiones quæ ab hominibus instituuntur, hoc discrimen habendum sit, nempe quod ritus sive traditiones humanitus institutæ, mandatis ac præceptis Dei (quæ in Scripturis traduntur) cedere semper et postponi ubique debeant. Et nihilominus quoniam ordo et tranquillitas Ecclesiæ absque ritibus et ceremoniis conservari non potest, docemus adeo utile esse et necessarium, Ecclesiam habere ritus et ceremonias, ut si ab Ecclesia tollerentur, ipsa illico Ecclesia et dissiparetur et labefactaretur.

Postremo ritus, ceremoniæ, sive traditiones, de quibus antea diximus, non solum propter causas prædictas, verumetiam propter præceptum Dei, qui jubet nos potestatibus obedire, servandæ sunt.

## 12. De Rebus *Civilibus* <sup>d</sup>.

Misera mortalium conditio peccato corrupta, præceps ad iniquitatem et ad flagitia ruit, nisi salubri auctoritate retineatur, nec potest publica salus consistere, sine justa gubernatione et obedientia; quamobrem benignissimus Deus ordinavit reges, principes, ac gubernatores, quibus dedit auctoritatem non solum curandi ut populus juxta divinæ legis præscripta vivat, sed etiam legibus aliis reipublicæ commodis, et justa potestate eundem populum continendi ac regendi; hos autem in publicam salutem deputavit Deus, suos in terra ministros, et populi sui duces ac rectores, eisque subjecit universam cujusvis sortis multitudinem reliquam. Atque ob eam causam multa ac diligenter de illis in Scripturis tradit. Primum quidem, ut ipsi cœlestibus præceptis erudiantur ad sapientiam et virtutem, quo sciant cujus sint mi-

“cibus et diebus etc. institutæ ad promerendam gratiam, et satisfaciendum pro peccatis, inutiles sint et contra Evangelium.

## “ 16. De Rebus *Civilibus*.

“De rebus civilibus docent, quod legitimæ ordinationes civiles, sint

<sup>d</sup> [In another copy of this Article, also preserved in the State Paper Office, the title is in Cranmer's handwriting.]

nistri, et concessum a Deo iudicium et auctoritatem legitime atque salubriter exerceant; juxta illud, "Erudimini qui iudicatis terram, servite Domino in timore." Deinde vero præcipit, atque illis in hoc ipsum auctoritatem dat, ut pro conditione reipublicæ suæ, salutare ac justas leges (quoad pro virili possint) provideant atque legitime condant, per quas non solum æquitas, justitia, et tranquillitas in republica retineri, sed etiam pietas erga Deum promoveri possit; atque insuper ut legis Dei atque Christianæ religionis tuendæ curam habeant, quemadmodum Augustinus diserte fatetur, dicens, "In hoc reges, sicut eis divinitus præcipitur, Deo serviunt, in quantum reges sunt, si in suo regno bona jubeant, mala prohibeant, non solum quæ pertinent ad humanam societatem, verum etiam quæ ad divinam religionem." Proinde principum ac gubernatorum potestas et officium est, non solum pro sua et reipublicæ incolumitate ac salute justa bella suscipere, probos amplecti et fovere, in improbos animadvertere, pauperes tueri, afflictos et vim passos eripere, arcere injurias, et ut ordo et concordia inter subditos conservetur, atque quod suum est cuique tribuatur curare; verum etiam prospicere, et (si causa ita postulaverit) etiam compellere, ut universi tam sacerdotes quam reliqua multitudo officiis suis rite et diligenter fungantur, omnem denique operam suam adhibere, ut boni ad bene agendum invitentur, et improbi a malefaciendo cohibeantur. Et quamvis illi qui timore legum et poenarum corporalium cohibentur a peccando, aut in officio continentur, non eo ipso fiunt pii vel accepti Deo; tamen hucusque proficit salubris coercio, ut et illi qui tales sunt, interim vel minus sint mali, vel saltem minus flagitiorum committant, viamque nonnunquam facilius inveniant ad pietatem, et reliquorum quies ac pietas minus turbetur, scandala et pernicioosa exempla auferantur a Christianis cœtibus, et apertis vitiis aut blasphemis nomen Dei et religionis decus quam minimum dehonestetur.

Ad hæc quia necessum est, ut auctoritatem principum, reipublicæ atque rebus humanis summopere necessariam, populus tanquam Dei ordinationem agnoscat et revereatur; idcirco Deus in

"bona opera Dei, quod Christianis liceat gerere magistratus, exercere judicia, judicare res ex imperatoriis, et aliis præsentibus legibus, supplicia jure constituere, jure bellare, militare, lege contrahere, tenere proprium, jusjurandum postulantis magistratibus dare, ducere uxorem, nubere.

"Damnant Anabaptistas, qui interdiciunt hæc civilia officia Christia-

Scripturis passim præcipit, ut omnes cujuscunque in republica gradus aut conditionis fuerint, promptam et fidelem obedientiam principibus præsentent, idque non solum metu corporalis poenæ, sed etiam propter Dei voluntatem; quemadmodum Petrus diligenter monet: "Subditi (inquiens) estote omni humanæ creaturæ propter Deum, sive regi quasi præcellenti, sive ducibus, tanquam ab eo missis ad vindictam malefactorum, laudem vero bonorum, quia sic est voluntas Dei." Paulus vero in hunc modum; "Admone illos principibus et potestatibus subditos esse, magistratibus parere, ad omne opus bonum paratos esse, neminem blasphemare." Quod si malus princeps aut gubernator quicquam injuste aut inique imperat subdito, quamvis ille potestate sua contra Dei voluntatem abutatur, ut animam suam lædat, nihilominus subditus debet ejusmodi imperium, quantumvis grave, pati ac sustinere, (nisi certo constet id esse peccatum,) potius quam resistendo publicum ordinem aut quietem perturbare; quod si certo constet peccatum esse quod princeps mandat, tum subditus neque pareat neque reipublicæ pacem quovismodo perturbet, sed pace servata incolumi, et causæ ultione Deo relicta, vel ipsam potius mortem sustineat, quam quicquam contra Dei voluntatem aut præceptum perpetret.

Porro quemadmodum de obedientia principibus exhibenda Scriptura diligenter præcipit, ita etiam ut cætera officia alacriter illis præstemus, monet atque jubet, qualia sunt tributa, vectigalia, militiæ labor, et his similia. Quæ populus, ex Dei præcepto, principibus pendere et præstare debet, propterea quod reipublicæ absque stipendiis, præsidiis, et magnis sumptibus neque defendi possunt neque regi. Est præterea et honos principibus deferendus, juxta Pauli sententiam, qui jubet, ut principibus honorem exhibeamus. Qui sane honos non in externa duntaxat reverentia et observantia positus est, sed multo verius in animi judicio et voluntate; nempe ut agnoscamus principes a Deo ordinatos esse, et Deum per eos hominibus ingentia beneficia largiri: ad hæc ut principes propter Deum et metuamus et amemus, et ut ad omnem pro viribus gratitudinem illis præstandam parati simus: postremo ut Deum pro principibus precemur, uti ser-

"nis. Damnant et illos, qui evangelicam perfectionem non collocant  
 "in timore Dei et fide, sed in deserendis civilibus officiis, quia Evange-  
 "lium tradit justitiam æternam cordis. Interim non dissipat politiam  
 "aut œconomiam, sed maxime postulat conservare tanquam ordina-



vet eos, ac eorum mentes semper inflectat ad Dei gloriam et salutem reipublicæ. Hæc si fecerimus, vere principes honorabimus, juxta Petri præceptum, "Deum time, Regem honorifica." Quæ cum ita sint, non solum licet Christianis principibus ac gubernatoribus regna et ditiones possidere, atque dignitatibus et muneribus publicis fungi, quæ publicam salutem spectant, et undecunque promovent vel tuentur, uti supra diximus, verum etiam quando in ejusmodi functionibus respiciunt honorem Dei, et eodem dignitatem suam atque potestatem referunt, valde placent Deo, ejusque favorem, ac gratiam ampliter demerentur. Sunt enim bona opera quæ Deus præmiis magnificentissimis non in hac duntaxat vita, sed multo magis in æterna, cohonestat atque coronat.

Licet insuper Christianis universis, ut singuli quique pro suo gradu ac conditione juxta divinas ac principum leges et honestas singularum regionum consuetudines, talia munia atque officia obeant et exerceant, quibus mortalis hæc vita vel indiget, vel ornatur, vel conservatur. Nempe ut victum quærant ex honestis artibus, negotientur, faciant contractus, possideant proprium, res suas jure postulent, militent, copulentur legitimo matrimonio, præstent jusjurandum et hujusmodi. Quæ omnia, quemadmodum universis Christianis, pro sua cujusque conditione ac gradu, divino jure licita sunt, ita cum pii subditi propter timorem Dei, principibus ac gubernatoribus suis promptam atque debitam præstent obedientiam, cæteraque student peragere, quæ suum officium et reipublicæ utilitas postulat, placent etiam ipsi magnopere Deo, et bona faciunt opera, quibus Deus ingentia præmia promittit, et fidelissime largitur.

### 13. De Corporum Resurrectione et Judicio Extremo.

Credendum firmiter atque docendum censem, quod in consummatione mundi, Christus sicut ipsemet apud Matthæum affirmat, venturus est in gloria Patris sui cum angelis sanctis, et majestate, ac potentia, sessurusque super sedem majestatis suæ.

"tiones Dei, et in talibus ordinationibus exercere caritatem. Itaque necessario debent Christiani obedire magistratibus suis et legibus. Nisi cum jubent peccare, tunc enim magis debent obedire Deo quam hominibus, Actor. v.

### " 17. De Christi Reditu ad Jud.

"Item docent, quod Christus apparebit in consummatione mundi ad judicandum, et mortuos omnes resuscitabit, piis et electis dabit vitam

Et quod in eodem adventu, summa celeritate, in momento temporis, ictu oculi, divina potentia sua suscitabit mortuos, sistetque in eisdem in quibus hic vixerunt corporibus ac carne, coram tribunali suo cunctos homines, qui unquam ab exordio mundi fuerunt, aut postea unquam usque in illam diem futuri sunt. Et iudicabit exactissimo atque justissimo iudicio singulos, et reddet unicuique secundum opera sua, quæ in hac vita et corpore gessit: piis quidem ac justis æternam vitam et gloriam cum sanctis angelis, impiis vero et sceleratis æternam mortem atque supplicium, cum Diabolo et prævaricatoribus angelis. Præterea quod in illo iudicio perfecta et perpetua fiet separatio proborum ab improbis, et quod nullum erit postea terrenum regnum aut terrenarum voluptatum usus, qualia quidam errore decepti somniaverunt. Demum quod nullus post hoc iudicium erit finis tormentorum malis, qui tunc condemnabuntur ad supplicia, sicut nec ullus finis beatitudinis bonis, qui in illo die acceptabuntur ad gloriam.

#### XIV.

#### *Articuli de Missa Privata, De Veneratione Sanctorum, et De Imaginibus* \*.

##### 1. De Missa Privata.

State Paper Office.  
Ecclesiastical Papers.

LECTIONES sacras [ac conciones] in Missa recitari, et precatōnes pro rebus vel in singulos vel etiam in universos necessariis fieri, [et Eucharistiam in Missa populo exhiberi,] non est dubium quin Paulus et reliqui Apostoli ecclesiis ordinaverint. Quem morem a primis Christianitatis incunabulis observatum,

“æternam et perpetua gaudia, impios autem homines ac Diabolos condemnabit, ut sine fine crucientur.

“Damnant Anabaptistas, qui sentiunt hominibus damnatis ac Diabolis finem pœnarum futurum esse. Damnant et alios, qui nunc spargunt Judaicas opiniones, quod ante resurrectionem mortuorum, “pii regnum mundi occupaturi sint, ubique oppressis impiis.”

[\* These three papers, *De Missa Privata, De Veneratione Sanctorum, et De Imaginibus*, seem to be drafts for some of the Articles on which the English and German divines, assembled in London in 1538, could not agree. (See Preface; Letter of German Ambassadors to Hen. VIII. in Burnet, *Ref.* vol. i. Add. No. 7; and Seckendorf, *Comment. de Lutheran.* lib. iii. §. LXXVIII. Add. 3.) They are preserved among Cranmer's papers in the State Paper Office; and the first of them bears a few trifling additions in his handwriting, which are here distinguished by brackets. Copies of the two last are extant also in his Collections of Law in the Lambeth Library, 1107. fol. 116. 121.]

nullo nunc pacto abolendum, sed omni reverentia et religione in Ecclesiam retinendum atque conservandum judicamus. Nam lectiones illæ permultum habent efficacæ ad excitandas hominum mentes, vel ad fidem, vel ad [amorem ac] timorem Dei et obedientiam præceptorum ejus, maxime si populo satis intelligantur, vel a concionatore docto et pio explicantur. Siquidem et fides ex auditu est, et quid operis faciendum sit ut Deo placeas, non aliunde melius aut certius quam ex ipsius verbo discas. Pre- cationes autem quæ in communi cœtu fiunt, promissiones a Christo quam amplissimas adjunctas habent; cum ait, “ Si duo ex vobis “ consenserint super terram de omni re quacunque petierint fiet “ illis a Patre meo qui in cœlis est; ubi enim sunt duo vel tres “ congregati in nomine meo, ibi sum in medio eorum.” Voluit igitur Christus, ut oraturi congregaremur, et nos Ecclesiæ aggregaremus. Voluit Ecclesiam totam sic inter se devinctam esse, ut haberet cor unum et animam unam, et invicem alii aliorum necessitatibus afficerentur, et pro illis communibus precibus Deum orarent, ratas fore promittens et sibi gratas hujusmodi precatones. Præterea Ecclesiam sic convenire et junctim Deum precari, valde etiam prodest ad exemplum. Ibi enim alii aliorum exemplis, vel ignari docentur vel segnes excitantur, ut et ipsi credant et Deum invocent. Quam multos necessitatum publicarum vel nulla vel minima cura tangeret, nisi ibi admone- rentur singulos debere affici publicis curis, et orare non solum pro Ecclesia universa, ut liberetur ab erroribus, scandalis, dissidiis, impiis cultibus, ut vera doctrina propagetur, ut veri cultus (pulsæ superstitione) Deo præstentur, ut pax et tranquillitas Ecclesiæ conservetur, sed etiam pro principum salute et felici gubernatione, per proventu frugum, contra pestilentiam, cum similibus. Hujusmodi precatones in Missa et ceremoniis publicis, censem pie et necessario institutas esse, vel ob hoc quoque, ut assuescant homines in omnibus periculis Deum invocare, in illum fiduciam collocare, ab illo pendere, et auxilium petere et expectare. Sed precatones communes communi lingua fieri consentaneum foret: ut omnes astantes communiter atque unanimiter orare Deum possint, tam mente quam spiritu. Ita enim oratio et Deo fieret acceptior, et hominibus haud dubie fructuosior, si populus intellecta sacerdotis verba, non minus animorum interior consensu, quam vocis exterius concentu approbaret. Nam, ut inquit Paulus, “ Si orem lingua, spiritus meus orat, at

[Lectio-  
nes.][Concio-  
nes.][Preca-  
tiones.]

[Eucharistia.]

“mens mea fructu vacat :” et iterum, “Si incertam vocem tuba dederit, quis apparabitur ad bellum, sic et vos per linguam nisi “significantem sermonem dederitis, quomodo intelligetur quod “dicitur?” et mox ibidem, “Alioqui si benedixeris spiritu, is “qui implet locum indocti, quomodo dicturus est, Amen, ad tuam “gratiarum actionem.” Peractis vero lectionibus, concionibus, et precationibus, populus corpus Christi quod pro nobis traditum est, et sanguinem ejus qui pro nobis effusus est, in Eucharistia sumebat, in memoriam videlicet mortis suæ, uti ipse pridie passionis instituerat. Quo factum est, ut illi, veluti Christo incorporati et connati, et cum illo peccatis mortui, denuo in novæ vitæ emendationem sæpissime resurgerent. Hodie vero adeo prævaluit Ro. Antichristi tyrannis non solum adversus mundi monarchas, sed etiam contra veterem Ecclesiæ morem et sinceram ac puram doctrinæ Christianæ religionem, ut quæ sanctissime primitus fuerunt instituta, illa in sui suorumque gloriam ac commodum impurissime profanaverit. Lectiones sacræ et precationes hodie apud sacerdotes manent, sed ea lingua ut a populo non intelligantur, et populus ipse quod precatur (quia peregrino sermone id facit) non intelligit. Conciones sacræ, vel nullæ vel rarissimæ sunt; Eucharistia a solo sumitur sacerdote, qui illa in turpissimum quæstum pro vivis ac defunctis applicat; populo Christiano vix in paschate datur, et ne tunc quidem integrum sacramentum. Cæterum quanto Missa res est sacratior, tanto minus decet eam impiis opinionibus profanari, aut ad libidinem quorundam et quæstum in sinistrum usum converti. Damnanda est igitur impia illa opinio sentientium usum sacramenti cultum esse a sacerdotibus applicandum pro aliis, vivis et defunctis, et mereri illis vitam æternam et remissionem culpæ et pœnæ, idque ex opere operato. Talis siquidem doctrina ignota erat veteri Ecclesiæ, et aliena est a Scripturis sacris, et subvertit rectam de fidei justificatione doctrinam, et parit alieni operis fiduciam. Christus autem, cum institueret hoc sacramentum, dixit, “Hoc “facite in meam commemorationem,” volens nimirum, ut ibi fieret in vera fide recordatio mortis ipsius, et beneficiorum quæ nobis sua morte meruit. Quæ beneficia per sacramentum applicantur summenti, cum fidem tali recordatione exsuscitat. Non possunt autem aliis, quam sacramentum summentibus, per sumentes applicari. Sed quemadmodum unusquisque pro seipso tantum, et non pro alio baptizatur, ita et Eucharistia a Christo est instituta, ut illam

nemo pro alio, sed pro sese quisque Christianus sumeret. Talis quippe est sacramentorum ratio et natura, ut signa<sup>f</sup> sint visibilia, certa, et efficacia, per quæ Deus invisibiliter in recte utentibus operatur, verum non nisi in ipsis tantum utentibus per illa operatur, nec aliis per alios, sive sacerdotes, seu cujuscunque ordinis aut conditionis fuerint, accommodari possunt. Qua re una animadversa ac perpensa, facile apparebit privatarum Missarum applicationes et nundinationes<sup>g</sup> non amplius esse ferendas. Nam cum, teste Augustino, quæcunque sunt in Missa præter Eucharistiam, nihil aliud sint quam laudes, gratiarum actiones, obsecrationes, et fidelium petitiones; Eucharistia autem non alii quam ipsi sumenti prosit aut applicari possit; reliqua vero, ut laudes, gratiarum actiones, obsecrationes, &c. tam a laicis quam a sacerdotibus afferri Deo possint et debeant; non erit jam amplius cur Missas emere quisquam debeat. Porro, quia sine gratiarum actione recordatio mortis Christi rite non peragitur, ideo veteres hanc sacramenti perceptionem Eucharistiam appellarunt, quam et sacrificium nonnulli orthodoxi patres nominaverunt, quod videlicet in memoriam illius unici et semel peracti sacrificii fiat, non quod ipsum opus sit sacrificium applicabile vivis et mortuis in remissionem peccatorum. Id quod papisticum duntaxat est figmentum; et quoniam ab hac tam impia opinione et quæstu inde proveniente, Missæ privatæ, illæque pro magna parte satisfactoriæ, in tantam multitudinem excreverunt, quarum nec mentionem, nec exemplum ullum apud antiquiores invenimus, satisfactorias quidem prorsus abolendas, cæteras vero privatas, vel in totum abrogandas, vel certe minuendas et reprimendas judicamus: summam denique curam adhibendam, ut hujus sacramenti verus ac genuinus usus ad gloriam Christi et Ecclesiæ salutem restituatur.

## 2. De Veneratione Sanctorum.

QUAMQUAM credimus et confitemur Deum omnis boni datorem ac largitorem esse, uti Jacobus testatur dicens, "Omne datum optimum et omne donum perfectum desursum est de-

<sup>f</sup> [See above, p. 285.]

<sup>g</sup> [This word is used in a similar manner in the Letter of the German Ambassadors to Hen. VIII. in Burn. *Ref.* vol. i. Add. No. 7. Its meaning is illustrated by the following passage from Melancthon. "Vendunt Missam, "tanquam pretium ad impetrandum quod quisque expetit, mercatoribus ut "felix sit negotiatio, venatoribus ut felix sit venatio." *Apolog. Confess. De Sacrificio.*]

“scendens a Patre luminum;” et Christus apud Johannem ait, “Quicquid petieritis Patrem in nomine meo dabit vobis;” et Psal. “Invoca me in die tribulationis,” &c.: quibus Scripturæ locis aperte docemur, quicquid ad corporis aut animi salutem pertinet, id a solo Deo petendum esse, et ab eo nobis dari, quoties in Christi nomine petimus: tamen cum jam inde ab exordio Ecclesiæ receptum sit, Sanctorum memorias et dies festos celebrare, valde utile ac necessarium putamus, eam de his rebus doctrinæ formam tradere, quæ Dei gloriam nulla in parte lædat aut imminuat, et tamen doceat perpetuam Ecclesiæ consuetudinem, in Divorum memoriis ac festis celebrandis laudabilem esse, nec Scripturæ sacræ adversari. Et cum non ignoramus in hanc quoque religionis Christianæ partem, quæ Sanctorum venerationem continet, multos abusos ac superstitiones irrepsisse, curandum censemus, ut eo, quod vanum aut noxium est, improbato et rejecto, illud solum, quod utile ac verum est, retineatur ac probetur. Quod ut rectius et facilius fiat, docendum ducimus, quod Sanctorum, qui corporibus exuti cum Christo vivunt, memoria in Ecclesiis multis de causis utiliter habeatur.

Primum quod nobis in mentem suggerit illa eximia Dei in Sanctis opera, quæ, ut olim dum per Sanctos fierent, Dei potentiam et gloriam apud homines illustrabant, ita nunc, vel sola recordatione ad Deum in Sanctis laudandum nos invitant. Adde huc, quod in his Sanctorum memoriis præclarissima fidei, charitatis, patientiæ, et cæterarum virtutum exempla nobis proponuntur, quæ nos exstimulent ad illorum imitationem: ut quemadmodum illi, “per fidem vicerunt regna, operati sunt justitiam, adepti “promissiones,” ita nos illorum vestigiis insistentes, ad victoriæ coronam, qua illi nunc ornantur, perveniamus. Quam sane Sanctorum imitationem summum et maximum honorem esse arbitramur, quem vel nos Sanctis impendere possumus, vel illi a nobis flagitant. Quamvis enim solus Christus sit unicum illud et numeris omnibus perfectum vitæ exemplar, quod imitari pro viribus omnes debemus, sunt tamen Christi beneficio et munere, etiam in Sanctis proposita nobis exempla, quæ utiliter, et multo cum fructu, sequi possumus. Quos enim non animabit stupenda in tormentis martyrum constantia, ut omnia quantumvis aspera et dura propter Christi gloriam pati velint? Cui non Josiæ, Ezechiæ, et aliorum piorum regum pietas, in vera Dei religione tuenda, et abolendis idololatricis cultibus, exemplo esse potest,

ut illorum pietatem imitari pro viribus studeat? Jam vero et lapsus quoque et pœnitentiæ Sanctorum, dum ex historiis cognoscuntur, magnam nobis utilitatem adferre poterunt. Nam cum Davidis, Petri, Magdalene, et aliorum condonatos fuisse lapsus cognoscimus, quis dubitet quin et nostra peccata, nobis pœnitentiam agentibus, Deus velit similiter condonare? Porro in Sanctorum memoriis, gratiæ Deo agendæ sunt, quod Sanctis varia dona contulit, quibus illi insigniter Ecclesiæ profuerunt, dum vel doctrinæ vel vitæ exemplo quamplurimos Christo lucrati sunt; quæ Dei in Sanctis dona non solum magnopere laudare oportet, sed etiam Sanctos ipsos, quia his donis bene usi sunt, laudibus attollere, amare, et suspicere, quemadmodum scribit Augustinus *De Civitate*, lib. 8. "Honoramus," inquit, "memorias " martyrum tanquam sanctorum hominum Dei, qui usque ad " mortem suorum corporum pro veritate certarunt, ut ea cele- " britate, et Deo vero de illorum victoriis gratias agamus, et nos " ad imitationem talium coronarum atque palmarum, eodem in- " vocato in auxilium, ex eorum memoriæ renovatione adhorte- " mur." Et alibi, "Colimus martyres eo cultu dilectionis et socie- " tatis, quo et in hac vita coluntur sancti homines Dei, quorum " corda ad talem pro Evangelica veritate passionem parata esse " sentimus, sed illos tanto devotius quanto securius post incerta " omnia superata, quanto etiam fidentiore laude prædicamus " jam in vita feliciori victores, quam in ista adhuc usque pugnan- " tes." Et Basilius, *Concione de Martyre Gordia*, " Sanctis non " est opus additione ad gloriam, sed nobis eorum memoria opus " est ad imitationem." Et alibi, "Hoc est martyrum encomium, " adhortari Ecclesiam ad virtutis imitationem." Atque hactenus quidem de Sanctorum veneratione, quæ partim in laudatione Dei in illis, partim in illorum imitatione constitit, diximus. Nunc vero ad alteram venerationis speciem veniamus, quæ de Sancto- rum interpellatione tractat.

Est sane hæc duplex, et vel Sanctorum pro nobis ad Deum preces, vel nostram ad Sanctos interpellationem significat. De priore dicimus, Sanctos qui devicto peccato et morte in Christo obdormierunt, cum sunt unius atque ejusdem nobiscum corporis membra, nobis qui adhuc cum carne et mundo conflictamur, bene velle et bene precari. De posteriore vero, qua illorum opem imploramus, docemus, quod cum corporis et animi salus, remissio peccatorum, gratia, vita æterna, et his similia so-

lius Dei munera sint, nec a quoquam alio, quam a solo Deo dari possint, quisquis pro his donis Sanctos invocat ac sollicitat, et hæc petit ab illis, quæ nisi a solo Deo dari nequeunt, quasi ipsimet Sancti hæc petentibus largiri possent, is graviter sane errat, et Deum gloria sua spolians, creaturæ eam tribuit.

Cæterum si Sanctorum suffragia imploraverimus, et ab illis petierimus, ut nobiscum, et pro nobis, Deum precentur ac orent, ut illas res a Deo citius impetremus, quas nemo nisi Deus largiri potest; hæc sane interpellatio tolerabilis est, et diuturno catholicæ Ecclesiæ usu approbata et confirmata.

Neque enim periculum erit, ne Dei gloriam creaturis tribuamus, si modo populus doceatur, istud duntaxat a Sanctis petendum esse, ut sua apud Deum intercessione nos adjuvent. Quod charitatis officium, cum in hac vita degentes, et cum carne et sanguine decertantes, alacriter præstiterunt, nihil ambigimus, quin nunc, cum Christo suo propius fruuntur, idem officium nobis præstent.

Porro quoniam multi certis Divis certorum morborum remedia, et aliarum rerum curam assignaverunt, et unum Sanctum pro vitanda peste coluerunt, alium propter pecorum incolumitatem et salutem, alium ut res perditas citius invenirent, atque ita a certis Divis res certas petierunt, quasi Deus hunc Sanctum huic morbo curando, alium vero alii malo medendo, peculiariter præfecisset, et singulorum morborum curationem in singulos Divos distribuisset: ut hic error a simplicioribus omnino tolleretur, censemus populum docendum esse, ut in rebus, tum prosperis tum adversis, Deo tanquam omnis boni et salutis auctori, suas preces offerat. Sanctis vero non aliter utatur, quam ut intercessoribus pro nobis ad Deum, in quo nostra omnis spes ac fiducia ubique et semper collocanda est.

Quamquam non negamus quin ad fidem et spem in Deum excitandam, possimus Deum velut admonere eorum miraculorum quæ ad Sanctorum preces jam olim ostendit, quibus admoniti, majori fide Dei beneficia petamus; veluti cum quis febre correptus, Dominum orat, ut quemadmodum ad D. Petri preces ejus socrum febricitantem sanitati restituit, ita velit nunc quoque febris ardores ab ægroto corpore depellere; sive cum oramus, ut Deus, qui Paulum in carcere cum collega Sila vinctum miraculo liberavit, idem nos e morborum aut peccatorum vinculis eripere dignetur.



## 3. De Imaginibus.

Quoniam Imagines Christi et Divorum illiteratis esse possunt vice librorum, dum velut scripti libri eos admoneant historiarum et rerum gestarum, censemus eas utiliter in templis Christianorum, aut alibi, statui ac poni posse. Quæ quidem Imagines, præterquam quod illiteratis plurimum conducunt ad memoriam et intellectum historiæ, etiam eruditibus utilitatem adferunt. Nam doctus interdum vehementius afficitur, dum conspicit Christi Imaginem in cruce pendentem, quam dum illum legit crucifixum et passum.

Cæterum cum in Imaginum usu graviter a populo peccatum sit, cum alii in templis posuerunt illarum rerum imagines, quarum nullum vel in sacris libris vel apud probatos auctores exstet testimonium; alii, neglectis Christi pauperibus, in supervacaneo statuarum ornatu ingentes sumptus fecerint, et hanc esse vel præcipuam pietatis partem falso sunt arbitrati; nonnulli (quod vehementer dolendum est) Imagines quasdam collocata in ipsis fiducia coluerunt, eas virtutis ac numinis aliquid præ cæteris habere persuasi; alii Imaginibus vota fecerunt, et illarum videndarum causa longas profectiones susceperunt, credentes Deum in ipsius Imaginis gratiam, in uno potius loco quam in alio exauditurum esse: has et alias harum similes opiniones ac judicia præpostera, cum dissimulari non possit, quin plebs indocta de Imaginibus habuerit; ut Imagines ipsæ in Ecclesia retineantur, et abusus omnes ac superstitiones penitus tollantur, pastorum et concionatorum officium esse judicamus, ut populum de his rebus melius instituunt ac informant, utque verum Imaginum usus esse doceant, intellectum et memoriam illarum rerum quas representant, animis hominum suggerere atque subjicere, et intuentis animum nonnunquam exstimulare. In hunc finem Imagines in templis positas fuisse nihil dubitamus; nempe ut Imaginum aspectus nobis in memoriam revocaret illorum Sanctorum virtutes et vitæ exempla, quorum Imagines intuemur, ut quoniam oculis subjecta magis movent quam audita, nos Sanctorum virtutibus et exemplis quæ in ipsorum Imaginibus representantur, magis inflammaremur ad Deum in Sanctis laudandum, ad nostra peccata deflenda, et Deum orandum ut Sanctorum virtutes et vitam per illius gratiam imitari possimus.

Quod si quis, conspecto crucifixi signo, caput aperit aut in-

clinat, lignum illud non honorat, sed ad Imaginis occasionem et aspectum, veneratur Christum quem ea representat. Is honor, qui non statuis, sed Christo per statuæ aspectum impenditur, et Deo placet, et ab idololatria procul abest.

Cæterum vel Imagines adorare, vel divinum aliquam vim aut numen illis tribuere, vel putare, quod Deus aut statuæ alicujus gratia aut loci, quia illic statua collocatur, invocantes citius sit exauditurus, vel ipsas statuas lascive ac juxta sæculi vanitates pingere aut formare, vel denique præteritis et neglectis Christi pauperibus, quoties illis ex præcepto Dei subveniendum est, illas ornare, hæc omnia et magnopere improbamus, et Christianis fugienda esse docemus.

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XV.

*De Ordine et Ministerio Sacerdotum et Episcoporum*<sup>h</sup>.

State Paper  
Office. Ec-  
clesiastical  
Papers.

SACERDOTUM et Episcoporum ordinem ac ministerium, non humana auctoritate sed divinitus institutum, Scriptura aperte docet. Quippe quæ tradit Dominum ac Servatorem nostrum, Jesum Christum, in Ecclesia instituisse certos quosdam verbi sui ministros, tanquam legatos suos, et dispensatores mysteriorum Dei, (sic enim eos Paulus vocat,) qui non modo sana doctrina Christi gregem pascant, verum etiam vitæ ac morum sanctitate piisque exhortationibus, sedulo incumbant, ut omnes a peccandi consuetudine, tum ad perfectam Dei cognitionem, amorem, ac timorem, tum ad sinceram proximi dilectionem adducant, qui in altaris sacramento Christi corpus et sanguinem consecrent, qui Christi sacramenta aliis ministrent, qui ligent et excommunicent, qui solvant ac nexu liberent, ubi et quemadmodum res postulabit, qui cætera munia omnia quæ ad ejusmodi ministrorum officium pertinent, (quemadmodum in variis hujus articuli locis ostenditur,) exequi debeant. Et horum quidem ministrorum potestas, functio, sive administratio admodum necessaria est Ecclesiæ, quamdiu hic in terris contra carnem mun-

<sup>h</sup> [This tract also is preserved among Cranmer's papers in the State Paper Office; but there are not the same reasons, as in the two preceding instances, for supposing it to have resulted from the conferences of 1538. See above, pp. 273. 292. The greater part of its contents are to be found either in the *Institution* or the *Necessary Doctrine*.]

dum et Satanam militamus, nec ulla unquam occasione aboleri debet, idque propter tres præcipuas (quæ sequuntur) et primarias causas.

Primum, quia Dei præceptum est, ut hæc potestas seu functio in Ecclesia perpetuo habeatur et exerceatur, quemadmodum ex variis Scripturæ locis apertissime liquet.

Deinde, quia nullam aliam certam et constitutam rationem sive modum Deus instituit, quo nos sibi in Christo reconciliet, et Spiritus Sancti dona nobis impertiat, vitæque æternæ hæredes nos faciat, quam verbum duntaxat suum et sacramenta.

Postremo, quia rerum maxime eximiarum certissimas promissiones functio hæc et potestas (de qua agimus) sibi annexas habet. Nam per hanc verbi et sacramentorum administrationem Spiritus Sanctus confertur, tot amplissima ejusdem Spiritus dona credentibus impertiuntur, demum et justificatio nostra et vita æterna nobis datur.

Proinde potestatem seu functionem hanc Dei verbum et sacramenta ministrandi cæterasque res agendi quas ante recensuimus, Christus ipse Apostolis suis dedit, et in illis ac per illos eandem tradidit, haud promiscue quidem omnibus, sed quibusdam duntaxat hominibus, nempe Episcopis et Presbyteris, qui ad istud muneris initiantur et admittuntur.

Qua quidem in re, Episcoporum valde interest, summa vigilantia et circumspectione curare, ut illos solos, quantum in ipsis erit, ordinent et admittant, quos et ad dictum munus rite exequendum, et ad verbum Dei sinceriter ac pure docendum, admodum aptos et idoneos esse judicabunt, eos vero quos parum idoneos comperient, a dicto munere arceant atque repellant.

Quod si contingat (ut interdum fit) ad hanc functionem aliquos admitti, qui sese postea indignos reddunt ut eam exercent, atque id constiterit, ne horum quidem tanta ratio habenda est, præsertim si aliis legitimis rationibus corrigi noluerunt, quin eos propter justas et urgentes causas, justo ordine, a dicta functione et officio (quo indigne abutuntur) amovere penitus et dejicere queant.

Atque hanc sane circumspectionem et vigilantiam Episcopi omnes, cum alias semper, tum vero potissimum adhibere debent in illis admittendis, quos vel ipsi suo jure delegerint, vel qui a patronis aut fundatoribus (ut vocant) Ecclesiarum, juxta leges et consuetudines singularum regionum, nominantur, et Episco-

pis offeruntur, seu ut vocant præsentantur, ut Ecclesiæ curam et regimen suscipiant.

Itaque Episcopi officium est, juxta nominis sui interpretationem, qua Latine Superintendens dicitur, prospicere gregi suo, pro cujus etiam commodo et salute niti semper et curare debet, non modo ut Christi religio et doctrina juxta verum et germanum Scripturæ sensum, gregi suo sinceriter ac pure prædicetur; verum etiam ut omnia erronea dogmata exterminentur, et talium zizaniorum doctores emendentur, vel abjiciantur.

Quæ profecto res ad Ecclesiæ pacem et Evangelicæ veritatis sinceritatem conservandam usque adeo necessaria est, ut Episcopi et Presbyteri summo studio, labore, et diligentia niti debeant, ne qua uspiam doctrina erronea, ne superstitio, ne idololatria, ne denique quippiam quod vel Christi gloriam imminuere, vel Christianæ pietati incommodare poterit, aut per ipsos, aut per alios (quantum in ipsis fuerit) in Ecclesiam introducat.

Porro autem quamvis ligandi excommunicandique potestas a Christo Presbyteris et Episcopis (ut supra diximus) data est, nemo tamen putet illis ex Evangelio potestatem esse concessam, ut eos quos excommunicent, violentia aliqua corporali, vel ab Ecclesia ejiciant, vel a sacramentorum communione arceant et repellant. Neque etiam ad hanc excommunicationis poenam infligendam ullo divino præcepto Presbyteros et Episcopos ita teneri, quin eandem (ubi ratio aut æquitas postularit) moderari, aut penitus ab eadem supersedere poterint.

Jam vero cum animarum, pro quibus Christus mortuus est, curam ac sollicitudinem Omnipotens Deus Presbyteris et Episcopis, manifestis Scripturæ verbis, commisit atque credidit, ut et illi quibuscunque poterint honestis modis, et plebis animas ad virtutem excitare ac inflammare, et Christi religionem ac Dei gloriam illustrare teneantur, facile liquet ipsorum officium esse, regulas quasdam sive canones, qui ad dictos obtinendos fines necessarii aut utiles esse videantur, quoties opus fuerit, non solum excogitare, et ad earundem observationem populum adhortari, verum etiam benignitate et consensu principis sic ordinare ac statuere, ut vim habeant obligandi; cujusmodi sunt, canones de temporibus conveniendi ad orandum, verbum Dei audiendum, et reliqua sacra facienda; præterea de ritibus ac ceremoniis, quibus sacramenta administrentur, atque orationes publice celebrentur; denique de cæteris ritibus ac ceremoniis, quæ ad

Dei gloriam illustrandam, virtutis incrementum, et religionis Christianæ propagationem ac decus, utcunque prosint.

Postquam itaque summatim et velut in typo explicuimus, et quæ sit potestas ac functio quam Deus in Scriptura Episcopis et Presbyteris dedit, et quibus in rebus posita sit, ne homines in Scripturis et veterum scriptorum monumentis leviter versati, potestates illas et jurisdictiones, quas Patriarchæ, Primates, Archiepiscopi, et Metropolitani, vel nunc exercent, vel olim super alios unquam Episcopos juste et legitime exercuerunt, a Deo in Scriptura ipsis datas fuisse, falso arbitrentur; nos qui veritatem et studiosè sane quærimus, et inventam libenter aliis communicamus, haud alienum ab officio nostro esse ducimus, istiusmodi homines docere et admonere, ut sciant ejusmodi omnes justas potestates, quas unus aliquis Episcopus super alium Episcopum, vel olim exercuit, vel hodie exercet, non divina in Scripturis ordinatione, sed hominum consensu, ordinationibus, ac legibus, illis qui ejusmodi potestatibus funguntur, collatas fuisse.

Quo utique consequitur, ut quamcunque potestatem ullus Episcopus super alium Episcopum exercuerit, quam hominum legitimo consensu non acceperit, ea non legitima sane potestas, sed injuria et tyrannis merito nuncupetur. •

Quamobrem, cum Romani Pontifices sibi ante hæc tempora, eam potestatem vindicaverunt, qua seipsos tum omnium Episcoporum tum totius Catholicæ Ecclesiæ capita et rectores constituerunt, manifestum sane est eam potestatem penitus vanam ac fictam esse, quæque ipsis Romanis Pontificibus, nec a Deo in Sacris Libris, nec a sanctis patribus in antiquis Generalibus Conciliis, nec demum Ecclesiæ Catholicæ consensu, unquam data fuerit. Id quod nos argumentis paucis quidem illis, sed tamen irrefutabilibus, omnino demonstrabimus.

Et primum quidem, constat Christum, nec Divo Petro nec Apostolorum cuiquam, nec eorum successoribus, ejusmodi universalem potestatem super alios omnes unquam dedisse, quinimmo eos omnes ab ipso Christo in pari potestatis, honoris, et auctoritatis consortio constitutos fuisse apertissime declarant, cum loca omnia in Novo Testamento quæcumque potestatem ullam a Christo Apostolis datam commemorant, tum Paulus ipse, ad Galatas scribens, ubi parem sibi cum Jacobo, Petro, et Joanne potestatem vindicat, et sese illis tribus, qui inter alios omnes maxime insignes fuere, æquare haud formidat.

Secundo loco, ut ad Concilia Generalia veniamus, et ea præsertim, quæ sanctimoniam et antiquitatis nomine omnium celeberrima semper habita fuere, liquido patet ea talem Ro. Pontificibus auctoritatem nunquam dedisse, utpote in quibus nonnulla decreta exstant, quæ diversum plane testantur ac docent.

Atque ut a priore Niceno Concilio exordiamur, in hoc utique Concilio decretum quoddam vel hodie exstat, quo cautum est, ut Alexandriae et Antiochiæ Patriarchæ, talem super regiones illis urbibus adjacentes potestatem haberent, qualem in regionibus quæ circa Romam sunt, Romanus Episcopus eo tempore obtinebat. Porro in Concilio Milevitano, cui ipse Divus Augustinus interfuit, et decretis Concilii subscripsit, sancitum fuit ut si quis regionis Africanæ clericus, ad Episcopos transmarinos extra Africam appellasset, is illico in omnibus Africæ regionibus pro excommunicato haberetur.

Ad hæc, in primo Generali Concilio [quod] in urbe Constantino-politano habitum est, similiter decretum fuit, tum ut omnes lites et controversiæ inter clericos susceptæ, in illis ipsis provinciis in quibus et exortæ et agi cæptæ sunt, per earundem vel saltem vicinarum regionum Episcopos finirentur, tum ne quis Episcopus extra propriam diocesim aut provinciam potestatem ullam exerceret. Atque in hac sane sententia sanctissimus præsul ac martyr, Divus Cyprianus fuit, et cæteri Africanæ regionis sanctissimi patres, idque priusquam ulla Generalia adhuc haberentur Concilia.

Porro autem, ut omnes qui veritate delectantur satis compertum et exploratum habeant, Romanum episcopum, neque divinæ legis auctoritate, neque ulla alicujus antiqui Catholici Concilii constitutione, ejusmodi universalem potestatem habere, animadvertendum est, Romanum Pontificem ad sextum Carthaginense Concilium legatos suos misisse, quo et universalem sibi primatum assereret ac vindicaret, et illius titulo defenderet ac comprobaret, se haud injuste fecisse, quod appellationes quas ad externos Episcopos fieri totum Africanum Concilium jam ante decreto suo prohibuisset, ipse Romæ admisisset. In qua re tractanda et discutienda, Romanus Episcopus sui tituli asserendi gratia, nihil aliud quam canonem quendam allegavit, in priore (ut ille videri voluit) Niceno Concilio institutum ac editum: contra vero Africani Episcopi talem in eo Concilio canonem esse non agnoscebant.

Quibus ita contententibus, tandem ad Patriarchales in Oriente sedes missi sunt nuncii, qui integros illius Concilii canones magno studio exquirerent; quid multis? post longam et diligentem inquisitionem, cum jam canones integri ab Oriente allati essent, nullus profecto canon inter illos inveniri potuit, qualem pro sui primatus titulo Rom. Pontifex allegaverat.

Ex cujus disceptationis, quam tituli sui gratia Romanus Episcopus cum Carthaginensis Concilii Patribus habuit, progressu et exitu, duo quædam, tanquam compertissima et maxime certa consequuntur.

Alterum, quod Romanus Pontifex nullum talem, qualem falso jactat, divino jure primatum habeat, nec ullis Sacræ Scripturæ verbis eum sibi poterit vindicare. Quod si posset, haud dubie eo tempore id fecisset, et Scripturæ auctoritatem pro se adduxisset, quum legatos suos ad Concilium Carthaginense misit. Ad hæc, sanctissimi Patres qui illi Concilio frequentes et magno numero interfuerunt, inter quos erat etiam doctissimus præsul Augustinus, tantam sacrarum literarum peritiam habebant, ut si quippiam tale pro Romani Pontificis primatu in Scripturis contineretur, illud profecto eos latere haud potuisset. Qui iidem tanta morum sanctitate pollebant, ut si istud in Scripturis esse cognovissent, neque diversum et plane huic universali potestati contrarium decretum jam ante statuissent, neque illo tempore (quo tantopere hac de re contendebatur) tam serio eam recusassent.

Alterum quod ex prædicta Pontificis cum Concilio contentione æque clarum et manifestum evadit, est, nempe nullum antiquum Generale Concilium Romanis Episcopis ejusmodi potestatem aliquando dedisse. Nam si Concilii cujuspian auctoritate talem sibi datam potestatem Romani Pontifices habuissent, non dubium est, quin illius Africani Concilii tempore, Concilium istud pro se adducere et allegare voluissent. Quod illi, non fecerunt, nec quicquam a quoquam Generali Concilio pro primatus sui defensione adduxerunt, præterquam e priore Niceno Concilio unum duntaxat fictum canonem, qui (ut paulo ante diximus) diligentissime et summo studio multo tempore quæsitus, numquam inter authenticos canones a quoquam potuit inveniri. Et caput illud authenticum quod ex omnibus Niceni Concilii canonibus ad Romanos Episcopos maxime spectat, cum ficto hoc universali primatu directe et a diametro pugnat, dans

aliis etiam (ut supra diximus) Patriarchis in suis regionibus parem potestatem atque Rom. Episcopus in regionibus Romæ vicinis eo tempore usus est.

Tertio in loco probandum suscipimus Rom. Episcopos hunc universalem (quem hodie jactitant) primatum communi totius Ecclesiæ catholicæ consensu nunquam fuisse adeptos. Id quod clarum sane et perspicuum vel ex eo evadat, quod ante aliquot sæcula, complures Patriarchæ et Archiepiscopi, ut Patriarcha Constantinopolitanus et alii in Oriente, Archiepiscopus vero Ravennas et Mediolanus in Occidente, obedientiam et subjectionem Rom. Episcopis, quam illi universalis primatus prætextu super eos vindicabant, sese debere recusaverint.

Jam Agatho ipse, qui diu post illa quatuor prima Generalia Concilia Romanæ sedis Episcopatum tenuit, cum ad Imperatorem, qui Concilium Generale in urbe Constantinopolitana futurum indixerat, literas daret, in suis illis ad Cæsarem literis aperte docet ac confitetur, primatum suum ad solos Occidentalis et Septentrionalis Ecclesiæ Episcopos pertinere. Cujus confessione manifestum est, talem universalem primatum, qualem hodie sibi vindicant, neque ullis Sacræ Scripturæ verbis, neque Generalium Conciliorum decretis, neque catholicæ demum Ecclesiæ consensu, Romanos Episcopos illis temporibus habuisse.

Verum enimvero, si ad posteriora hæc Concilia, nempe Constantiense, Basiliense, et Florentinum Romani Pontifices confugere velint, ut dejectum jam et tot argumentis explosum hunc universalem primatum per illa saltem Concilia rursus erigant, nihil profecto inde lucrifacient, nam cui non est exploratum et cognitum, utrumque tam Constantiense, quam Basiliense Concilium, schismatum temporibus habitum fuisse?

Quo tempore principum Christianorum quidam uni schismatis parti, quidam alteri favebant. Quo factum est, ut multi mortales, qui illis Conciliis interfuerunt, principum suorum votis et studiis obsequentes, etiam ipsi in contrarias factiones dissecti atque divisi fuerunt.

Quid quod eorum qui in illis Conciliis pro viris doctis ac eruditis habiti sunt maxima pars, ex monachis, et istis nuper institutis (ut vocant) religionibus constaret, eoque esset Romani Pontificis voluntati obsequentissima? Qui porro (quod ad doctrinam attinet) in solis quæstionibus et recenti scholasticorum doctrina enutriti et educati, in literis sacris, aut veterum scripto-



rum monumentis minime fuerunt exercitati. Atque horum præterea Conciliorum ut exitus intueamur, utrumque diruptum potius quam dimissum fuit. Neutrum certe perfecto fine et consummatione potitum est.

Quo fit, ut ex eo semper tempore istorum Conciliorum canones pragmatici, nusquam gentium dictorum Conciliorum auctoritate roboris aliquid habentes, afferantur et citentur.

Atque hactenus de Constantiensi et Basiliensi Concilio diximus, quæ quantum pro Romani Pontificis primatu faciant, nemo non (qui mentem habet) facile videt atque intelligit. Nunc ad Florentinum Concilium veniamus. In hoc Concilio, præterquam quod ipsum (quemadmodum duo superiora Concilia) schismatum tempore celebratum fuit, et plerique omnes docti viri qui Concilio interfuerunt, ejusdem erant farinæ cum iis de quibus ante diximus, etiam ille Orientalium et Græcorum qui tunc aderant hac in re consensus, regionibus a quibus missi fuerant adeo iniquus visus est, ut neque tunc illam partem definitionis Concilii de universali Pontificis Rom. primatu approbare voluerint, neque unquam ex eo tempore, ut ei assentirent, potuerint induci. Probabile autem est, eos legatorum suorum consensum haud aspernatos fuisse, præsertim cum ipsorum Imperator illi Concilio interesset, nisi certo credidissent illam Concilii definitionem de Romani Pontificis primatu, et Sacris Dei Scripturis, et Generalibus Conciliis, et antiquis ac sanctis ipsorum Patribus manifeste repugnare.

Ex his itaque omnibus quæ hactenus dicta sunt, luce clarius apparet, Romanos Episcopos hunc fictum universalem primatum non modo contra omnem Scripturæ auctoritatem, et absque ullo Catholicæ Ecclesiæ consensu, verum etiam contra ejusmodi Generalium Conciliorum determinationes et decreta, quæ jam sæculis bene multis usque in hodiernum diem Romani omnes Episcopi in sua (ut vocant) creatione, se diligenter ac bona fide observaturos esse verbis solemnibus et expressis profitentur, sibi petere et vindicare. Nam ut ex ipsorum actis legibusque liquet, Romanorum Pontificum unusquisque, eo tempore quo ceremoniis pontificalibus initiatur, sese octo primorum Generalium Conciliorum canones omnes, inter quos sunt illi (de quibus antea diximus canones, huic ficto universali primatu plane repugnantes) sancte et inviolabiliter observaturum esse, publice et coram omnibus profitetur et promittit.

Postremo, postquam nunc et rationibus solidis ostensum, et argumentis irrefutabilibus comprobatum est, nullam ejusmodi super Episcopos et clerum universalem potestatem ad Romanos Pontifices juste et legitime pertinere, sapientes sane ac cordati viri omnes facile videant atque perspiciant, multo minus eos posse sibi vindicare Christiani orbis monarchiam, et eam in reges ac principes omnes potestatem, qua regnis suis et imperiis ipsos privare, eaque aliis pro suo arbitrio donare poterint; cum Scriptura plane diversum docet atque præcipit, nempe ut principibus ac potestatibus mundi Christiani omnes, tam Presbyteri et Episcopi, quam reliqua populi multitudo subditi sint atque obediant.

Verissimum enim profecto est, Deum ita instituisse et ordinasse, ut regum ac principum Christianorum auctoritas in populi gubernatione summa ac suprema esset; aliisque omnibus potestatibus et officiis emineret atque excelleret.

Et regibus quidem tanquam supremis reipublicæ capitibus, totius sine ulla exceptione populi, qui ipsorum regnis ac dominatu vivit, curam ac gubernationem Deus commisit.

Quocirca Christianorum principum interest, non solum illis rebus incumbere, quæ ad civilem reipublicæ gubernationem spectant, verum etiam Christianam doctrinam tueri ac defendere, et abusus, hæreses, atque idololatriam abolere; curare præterea et modis omnibus prospicere, ut Presbyteri et Episcopi officium et functionem sibi commissam, pure, sinceriter, et diligenter obeant, nec ea ullo pacto abutantur. Id quod si facere obstinate recusaverint, adeo ut ipsorum culpa et obstinatio Christi gregem illis creditum in exitium ruere, et quotidie perire, manifeste constiterit, tunc principum est, huc curam suam adhibere, ut ejusmodi nequam et inutilibus servis ab officio justo ordine amotis, alii meliores in illorum loca substituantur.

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## XVI.

### *Breve Regis et Mandatum Archiepiscopi de Nominibus Beneficiatorum et Beneficiorum.*

Wilkins,  
*Concilia*,  
vol. iii. p.  
857. from

THOMAS, &c. dilecto nobis in Christo Archidiacono nostro Cantuarien' aut ejus officiali, salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem. Breve supra dicti metuendissimi Domini nostri Regis una

cum articulis eidem annexis nobis directum, nuper cum ea qua decuit reverentia accepimus, tenorem subsequentem in se continens: Cranmer's  
Register,  
fol. 53.

Henricus octavus, Dei gratia Angliæ et Franciæ Rex, Fidei Defensor, Dominus Hiberniæ, ac in terra Supremum Caput Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ, reverendissimo in Christo patri Thomæ Archiepiscopo Cantuarien' salutem. Volentes certis de causis certiorari de et super quibusdam articulis præsentibus annexis, vobis mandamus, quod de veritate eorundem nos in curia nostra primorum fructuum et decimarum in octavis sancti Michaelis proxime futuri, sub sigillo vestro reddatis certiores, remittentes nobis in curiam prædictam articulos prædictos una cum hoc brevi. Teste Johanne Baker, milite, apud Westmonasterium vigesimo quarto die Junii, anno regni nostri trigesimo tertio.

First, to certify how many benefices or other spiritual dignities and promotions have been void within your diocese or jurisdiction, the names of them and every of them, how long they have been void, of whose presentation, nomination, or donation, they and every of them be, and the names of them and every of them that have perceived and taken the mean profits of the said promotions, since the last becoming void of the said dignity or benefice.

*Item,* To certify as well the name and names of all such parson and parsons, as have been collated, institute, or induct in any promotion spiritual within your diocese or jurisdiction, since the feast of the nativity of St. John Baptist, which was in the reign of our sovereign lord the King that now is the thirty-second, unto the same feast next following; as the name and names of all and every such promotion, whereunto any person hath been collated, institute, or induct from the said feast of St. John Baptist, in the thirty-second year aforesaid, unto the same feast next following; as also the name of the county where the same promotion doth lie.

Nos ejusdem domini nostri Regis mandatis, pro officii nostri erga suam Majestatem debito, parere et omni subjectionis honore obedire, uti par est, volentes, cupientesque de omnibus et singulis articulis supradictis, et in eis contentis et comprehensis quibuscunque, mature fieri certiores, vobis pro parte suæ Regiæ Majestatis tenore præsentium districte præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus cum ea qua poteritis celeritate et diligentia, de et

super articulis præmissis et in eis declaratis quibuscunque, maturam et sedulam faciatis apud singulas ecclesias infra diocesis nostram Cantuarien' utilibet constitutas, modo ac via quibus melius et efficacius poteritis, inquisitionem pariter et indagacionem; reddentes nos de omni eo quod in hac parte per vos fuerit compertum et inquisitum certiores, per literas vestras patentes autentice sigillatas, tenorem præsentium, et totum et integrum processum vestrum, inquisitionem, et indagacionem vestram in se continentes; et hoc sub pœna contemptus nostri, et prout eidem domino nostro Regi in hac parte sub periculo vestro respondere volueritis, facere et sedulo exequi curetis, et fieri causetis indilate. In cujus rei, &c. Datum in manerio nostro de Lambehith undecimo die Augusti, anno MDXLI. et nostræ consecrationis nono.

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XVII.

*The King's Letter and the Mandate of the Archbishop of Canterbury for taking away Shrines and Images.*

Wilkins,  
*Concilia*,  
vol. iii.  
p. 857.  
from  
Craun.  
Regist. fol.  
18. a.

THOMAS, permissione divina Cantuarien' Archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ Primas et Metropolitanus, per illustrissimum in Christo principem et dominum nostrum, dominum Henricum Octavum, Dei gratia Angliæ et Franciæ Regem, Fidei Defenso-rem, et Dominum Hiberniæ, ac in terra Supremum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ sub Christo Caput, ad infrascripta sufficienter auctorizatus, dilecto nobis in Christo Magistro Richardo Liell, legum doctori, decano decanatum de Shoreham, Croydon, Bocking, Risburghe, Terringe, et Pageham, Ecclesiæ Christi Cantuarien' jurisdictionis immediatæ, seu ejus in hac parte deputato, salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem. Literas missivas dicti metuendissimi domini nostri Regis signatas, et nominibus dominorum consiliariorum suorum in calce earundem subscriptas, signeto suo obsignatas, nobis inscriptas et datas, nuper debitis cum honore et reverentia accepimus, tenorem sequentem complectentes:

Most reverend Father in God, right trusty and right entirely well-beloved, we greet you well. Letting you wit, that whereas heretofore, upon the zeal and remembrance which we had to our bounden duty toward Almighty God, perceiving sundry superstitions and abuses to be used and embraced by our people, whereby they grievously offended Him and his word, we did

not only cause the images<sup>i</sup> and bones of such as they resorted and offered unto, with the ornaments of the same, and all such writings and monuments of feigned miracles wherewith they were illuded, to be taken away in all places of our realm; but also by our Injunctions commanded, that no offering or setting of lights or candles should be suffered in any church, but only to the blessed sacrament of the altar<sup>k</sup>: it is lately come to our knowledge, that this our good intent and purpose notwithstanding, the shrines, covering of shrines, and monuments of those things do yet remain in sundry places of our realm, much to the slander of our doings and to the great displeasure of Almighty God, the same being means to allure our subjects to their former hypocrisy and superstition, and also that our Injunctions be not kept as appertaineth: For the due and speedy reformation whereof, we have thought meet by these our letters expressly to will and command you, that incontinently, upon the receipt hereof, you shall not only cause due search to be made in your cathedral churches for those things, and if any shrine, covering of shrine, table, monument of miracles, or other pilgrimage do there continue, to cause it to be taken away, so as there remain no memory of it; but also that you shall take order with all the curates, and other having charge within your diocese, to do the semblable, and to see that our Injunctions be duly kept, as appertaineth, without failing, as we trust, and as you will answer for the contrary. Yeven under our signet at our town of Hull, the 4th day of October, in the thirty-fourth<sup>l</sup> year of our reign.

In capite vero eorundem sic scriptum est: By the King. In calce hæc nomina habentur: Wm. Southampton, Robert Sussex, J. Russell, Cuthbert Dunelmen., Anthony Browne, Anthony Winkfyld, John Gage. Inscriptio hæc est: To the most reverend father in God, our right trusty and right entirely well-beloved counsellor the Archbishop of Cantur., and our trusty and well-beloved his vicar general and the dean of the cathedral church of the same.

Nos vero affectantes ex animo ejusdem domini nostri Regis

<sup>i</sup> [See an account of a conversation upon the use of images between Hen. VIII. and Cranmer, in a Letter from Gardyner to the Protector Somerset. Foxe, *Acts*, &c. vol. ii. p. 720.]

<sup>k</sup> [See Crumwell's Injunctions of 1538. Burnet, *Ref.* vol. i. App. b. iii. No. xi.]

<sup>l</sup> [Rectus, "third." Wilkins.]

litteris et mandatis obtemperare, volentesque pro nostro erga suam regiam celsitudinem officio, nobis demandatis negotiis omnem nostram curam et solertem adhibere diligentiam, vobis pro parte suæ Regiæ Majestatis, tenore præsentium mandamus, et præcipiendo injungimus, quatenus receptis præsentibus, cum omni qua poteritis celeritate et matura diligentia, omnes et singulos ecclesiarum collegiatarum magistros, ecclesiarumque parochialium rectores, vicarios, et presbyteros quoscunque infra decanatus prædictos degentes, coram vobis diebus et locis pro vestro sano arbitratu, quam citissime tamen fieri possit, assignandis, convocari possitis, eisque coram vobis constitutis contenta et comprehensa in prædictis litteris pro parte suæ Regiæ Majestatis denunciatis, declaretis, exponatis, et dilucidetis ac demonstretis; eaque et contenta quæcunque in dictis litteris, necnon et Injunctiones alias a sua Majestate clero et plebi suo editas et promulgatas, ab omnibus et singulis subditis suis infra nostros decanatus prædictos degentibus, firmiter et exacte atque ad unguem observari, et debitæ executioni demandari curetis, et efficaciter absque ullo fuco fieri causetis, prout eidem domino nostro Regi sub vestro periculo respondere volueritis. Et quid in præmissis feceritis, nos citra ultimum diem mensis Novembris proxime futuri, per literas vestras, auctentice sigillatas, reddatis certiores. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum præsentibus est appensum. Datum in manerio nostro de Lambeth decimo quinto die mensis Octobris, anno Domini MDXLI. et nostræ consecrationis anno nono.

### XVIII.

#### *Constitutio Thomæ Cranmeri, Archiepiscopi, et aliorum Fratrum suorum de Apparatu Escarum moderando.*

Wilkins,  
*Concilia*,  
vol. iii.  
p. 862.  
from MSS.  
C. C. C. C.  
Strype,  
*Life of  
Parker*,  
vol. iii.  
p. 65.

IN the year of our Lord MDXLI. it was agreed and condescended upon, as well by the common consent of both the archbishops and most part of the bishops within this realm of England, as also of divers grave men of that time, both deans and archdeacons, the fare of their tables to be thus moderated.

First, that the archbishops should never exceed six divers kinds of flesh, or six of fish on the fish days; the bishop not to exceed five; the dean and archdeacon not above four; and all other under that degree not above three.

Provided also, that the Archbishop might have of second

dishes four, the bishop three, and all others under the degree of a bishop but two ; as custard, tart, fritter, cheese, or apples pears, or two of other kinds of fruits.

Provided also, that if any of the inferior degree did receive at their table any archbishop, bishop, dean, or archdeacon ; or any of the laity of like degree, viz. duke, marquis, earl, viscount, baron, lord, knight ; they might have such provision as were meet and requisite for their degrees. Provided alway, that no rate was limited in the receiving of any ambassador.

It was also provided, that of the greater fishes or fowls there should be but one in a dish, as crane, swan, turkeycock, haddock, pike, tench ; and of less sorts but two, viz. capons two, pheasants two, conies two, woodcocks two ; of less sorts, as of partridges, the archbishop three, the bishop, and other degrees under him, two ; of blackbirds, the archbishop six, the bishop four, the other degrees three ; of larks and snipes, and of that sort, but twelve.

It was also provided, that whatsoever is spared by the cutting off the old superfluity, should yet be provided and spent in plain meats for the relieving of the poor.

*Memorandum*, that this order was kept for two or three months, till, by the disusing of certain wilful persons, it came to the old excess.

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## XIX.

*Statutum de Numero Procuratorum Curie Cantuar', confirmatum per dominum Thomam Cranmer, Cantuar' Archiepiscopum.*

THOMAS, permissione divina Cant' Archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ Primas et Metropolitanus, illustrissimi et potentissimi in Christo principis et domini nostri Henrici VIII. Dei gratia Angliæ et Franciæ Regis, Fidei Defensoris, et Domini Hiberniæ, ac sub Christo in terra Supremi Capitis Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, ad infrascripta etiam parlamenti auctoritate legitime fulcitus, dilectis nobis in Christo filiis, vicario nostro in spiritualibus generali, officiali curiæ nostræ Cant' de Arcubus nuncupat', decanoque decanatus Ecclesiæ beatæ Mariæ de Arcubus prædict', ac prærogativæ nostræ commissario generali ; necnon Johanni Hering, Johanni Talcorne, Richardo Watkins, Anthonio Hussaws, Thomæ Stacey, Richardo Feyld, Johanni Trevison, Johanni Clerk, Simoni Leston, Henrico Boffell, Thomæ Dockery, Roberto Johnson,

Wilkins,  
Concilia,  
vol. iii.  
p 858.  
from MSS.  
Sancroft.

Willielmo Coveyke, et Davidi Clopham, dictæ curiæ procuratoribus generalibus, ac cæteris earundem curiarum nostrarum ministris, tam præsentibus quam futuris, ac aliis quibuscunque, quos infrascripta tangunt, seu tangere poterunt quomodolibet in futurum, salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem, ac fidem indubiam præsentibus adhibere.

Cum non sit minus pium atque laudabile lapsa reficere, quam nova condere; cura et solitudine pastoralis animadvertere et providere tenemur, ne quæ a sanctis patribus nostræ metropolitice Cant' Archiepiscopis prædecessoribus nostris pie et sancte, tam pro honore et celebri fama dictæ curiæ nostræ Cant' quibus antiquitus præ cæteris fulgere dignoscitur, quam pro consideratione ministrorum ejusdem statuta, ordinata, stabilita, et fundata fuerunt, nostris temporibus labantur, deficiant, aut pereant; imo ut consimilibus honore et fama dictæ curiæ nostræ Audient' et Prærogativæ fulciantur et decorentur, nos igitur Thomas Cranmer, Archiepiscopus, Primas, et Metropolitanus antedictus, præmissa attente pensantes, et oculate considerantes, ad quem non solum conservatio, continuatio, et confirmatio statutorum prædecessorum nostrorum prædictorum, verum etiam eorundem augmentatio et incrementum notorie dignoscitur pertinere; vestris supplicationibus inclinati, et grato annuentes assensu; ac tam dictæ curiæ nostræ Cant' de Arcubus London', et aliarum curiarum nostrarum hujusmodi honori, quam vestris quieti et commoditati consulere volentes; statutum felic' rec' Roberti de Winchelsey, olim Cant' Archiepiscopi, sic incipiens; "Statuimus insuper, ut xvi advocati et x procuratores duntaxat," etc. una cum ordinatione, statuto, stabilitione, et confirmatione bonæ memoriæ Will. Warham Cant' Archiepiscopi, prædecessorum nostrorum desuper fact', edit' et ordinat', auctoritate etiam capitulari dictæ Ecclesiæ nostræ metropolitice Cant' confirmat', quorum tenores, quatenus expedit, pro his insertis haberi et inscribi volumus, pro nobis et futuris successoribus nostri Cant' Archiepiscopis, in quantum eadem statuta, ordinatio, stabilitio, et cætera præmissa dictos procuratores et hujusmodi eorum numerum tangunt et concernunt, etiam ex mero motu et certa scientia nostris præsentium tenore reintegramus, ratificamus, approbamus, confirmamus, corroboramus, et pro perpetuo consolidamus perennit' observand', atque perpetuis futuris temporibus inviolabiliter observari volumus et mandamus. Volumus insuper, ac ex mero motu et certa scientia nostris, ut supra, ordinamus, at-



que pro nobis et futuris successoribus nostris Cant' Archiepiscopis perpetue statuendo, ordinando, et stabiliendo mandamus, quatenus de cætero nullus prorsus in numerum procuratorum præfatarum curiarum nostrarum, aut alicujus earundem admitatur, seu procuratoris officium in eisdem curiis aut earum aliqua exercere quovismodo permittatur, donec et quousque numerus præfat' procuratorum superius nominatorum jam existentium usque ad numerum novem decreverit et pervenerit, nec numerus ipsorum decem procuratorum ullatenus deinceps excedatur, etiamsi in contrarium a nobis aut dictis successoribus nostris Cant' Archiepiscopis, vobis in mandatis haberi, seu alias indulgeri vel dispensari contigerit; quibusvis clausulis dispensationum, commissionum, privileg' seu indult' præsentium derogatoriis, cæterisque in contrarium facientibus, non obstant', nec infuturum valituris quibuscunque, etiamsi de hujusmodi statuto, ordinatione, stabilitione, confirmatione, et corroboratione, ac cæteris præmissis, seu de præsentì ordinatione nostra hujusmodi de verbo ad verbum specialis, specifica, expressa, et individua fiat mentio; decernentes, quod in contrarium fieri contigerit, exnunc prout extunc, et extunc prout exnunc, irritum et inane, viribus quoque et effectum juris et facti omnino carere, prout tenore præsentium sic decernimus. Volentes præterea ac vobis vicario generali, officiali, decano, et Prærogativæ commissario hujusmodi præsentibus, et quibuscunque in eisdem officiis futuris firmiter injungendo mandamus, quatenus vos proximis sessionibus in dictis curiis nostris Audientiæ de Arcubus et Prærogativæ Cant' præsentationem et intimationem præsentium vobis factas immediate sequentibus, has præsentès literas nostras publicari et divulgari, ac inter alia statuta et ordinationes ipsarum curiarum nostrarum registrari et inseri faciatis, necnon pro statutis haberi et reputari, et debite ac inviolabiliter observari, vestris respective decretis judicialibus ibidem publice decernatis, et vestrum quilibet respective decernat. Ut autem præmissa omnia et singula per nos, ut præmittitur, superius facta et gesta, perpetuæ firmitatis robur perenniter obtineant, nec super illis ulla dubietatis seu ambiguitatis valeat questio suboriri; nos Thomas Archiepiscopus, Primas, et Metropolitanus antedictus, has nostras præsentès literas sigilli nostri ad facultates, quo utimur in ea parte, fecimus appensione muniri. Dat' in manerio nostro de Lambith 12 die mensis Januarii anno Domini secundum cursum et computationem Ec-

clesiæ Anglicanæ MDXLI. felicissimi regni dicti potentissimi et invictissimi principis et domini nostri Regis anno XXXIII. et nostræ consecrationis anno nono.

T. Cant.

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XX.

*Extracts from the Fathers concerning the Fear of Death and the Pains of Sickness*.".

De Consolatione Christianorum contra Metum Mortis. Ex  
Doctoribus Ecclesiasticis.

Strype,  
Cranmer,  
App. N°. 32.  
from MSS.  
C.C.C.C.  
civ. p. 299.

IF death of the body were to be feared, then them which have power to kill the body should we fear, lest they do their exercise over us as they may at their pleasure. But our Saviour forbids us to fear them, because when they have killed the body, then they can do no more to us. Wherefore it is plain, that our Saviour would not that we should fear death. "To die," saith St. John Chrysostom, "is to put off our old garments, and "death is a pilgrimage of the spirit from the body:" (he means for a time,) "and a sleep somewhat longer than the old custom." The fear of it, saith he, is nothing else than the fear of buggs, and a childish fear of that thing that cannot harm thee. Remember holy St. Ambrose's saying, which St. Augustine, lying on his death-bed, ever had in his mouth, "I do not fear to die, "for we have a good and merciful Lord and Master." Lactantius, the great learned man, confirms the saying of Cicero to be true, which said, "that no man can be right wise, which feareth "death, pain, banishment, or poverty: and that he is the honest "and virtuous man, which not regardeth what he suffers, but

" [Strype writes thus respecting these Extracts: "I took also out of the same volume [viz a manuscript at C. C. C. C.] some specimen of three "other discourses of his: one with this title, writ by his own hand; *De "Consolatione Christianorum contra Metum Mortis. Ex Doctoribus Ecclesiasticis*; compiled, I guess, as well for his own use, being not unapprehensive of his ticklish station and danger, from so many implacable enemies "which he had, as to be inserted in the aforesaid book, [*The Necessary Doctrine*]. The others were two exhortations to take the pains of sickness well, "and adversity patiently." But this statement respecting the title being in the handwriting of the Archbishop, is certainly incorrect; and the "guess," that he was the compiler of the discourses, rests on very slight foundations. For this reason, and because they are mere translations, they have not been placed among his works, nor has it been thought necessary to print them at length.]

“ how well he doth suffer.” Sedulius, one of                    disciples, defineth death to be the gate, by the which lieth the straight way unto reign and kingdom. Basilius, who as in name, so both in virtue and learning was great, thus he exhorteth us: “ O ! man,” saith he, “ shrink not to withstand your adversaries, to suffer labours ; abhor not death, for it destroys not, nor makes not an end of you, but it is the beginning and occasion of life. Nor death is the destruction of all things, but a departing, and a translation unto honours.” And St. Hierom, the strong and stout champion of Almighty God, saith, declaring this saying of holy Job, *the day of death is better than the day of birth* ; “ that is,” saith he, “ because either that by death it is declared what we are, or else because our birth doth bind our liberty of the soul with the body, and death do loose it.”

The holy Martyr Cyprian saith, “ he ought to fear death that would not, nor hath no lust to go to Christ ; and that he hath no will to God, the which believeth not, that by death he shall begin to reign with Christ, as it is written, *the right wise man liveth by faith*. Wherefore, saith he, do not ask that the kingdom of God may come, if this earthly bondage do delight us,” &c.

An Exhortation to take Sickness well, and Adversity patiently :  
drawn out of Cyprian.

“ This misliketh some men, that disease of sickness cometh to the Christian no less than to the heathen. As who should say, that therefore the Christian believeth, because he should be quiet from danger of adversity, and might have the fruition of this world at his own pleasure : and not because that after he hath suffered adversity here, he shall be reserved for the joy to come, &c.”

An Exhortation to take the Pain of Sickness patiently : translated out of St. Augustine, lib. 1. *De Visitatione Infermorum*.

“ Thou wilt say, I love God ; God grant, saith St. Augustine, that it be so indeed as thou promisest in words. The proof and trial of the love of God is the fulfilling of his commandments, the fulfilling of his works, willingly to love that God loveth, with a fervent desire to embrace that, the which God

“worketh. Then if thou lovest God, thou lovest that that  
 “God doth, and if thou love that that God doth, then thou lovest  
 “God’s discipline. When thou art chastened, thou lovest God’s  
 “rod. Thou art pained with the cough, the lungs faileth thee;  
 “thy stomach abhors his meat; thou pinest away with a con-  
 “sumption; thou tastest not thy drink; thou art vexed within  
 “thy body; thou art grieved with many sundry and divers kinds  
 “of diseases. But all these, if thou have an eye to perceive, if  
 “thou reckon God, all these, I say, are the gifts of God. Son,  
 “cast not away the discipline of the father. There is no child  
 “which the father doth not correct, &c.”

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 XXI.

*Literæ Regis, et Archiepiscopi Cantuar’ Mandatum Episcopo  
 London’ pro Orationibus pro Cessatione Pluviæ °.*

Wilkins,  
*Concilia*,  
 vol. iii. p.  
 868. from  
 Craun.  
 Regist. fol.  
 22. a.

THOMAS, permissione divina, &c. venerabili confratri nostro  
 domino Edmundo, eadem permissione Londinensi Episcopo,  
 vestrove vicario in spiritualibus generali, et officiali principali,  
 salutem et fraternam in Domino charitatem. Literas invictissimi  
 domini nostri Regis nuper recepimus, tenorem subsequentem  
 continentes:

Most reverend Father in God, right trusty and right en-  
 tirely beloved, we greet you well: and forasmuch as there  
 hath been now a late and still continueth much rain, and  
 other unseasonable weather, whereby is like to ensue great hurt  
 and damage to the corn, and fruits now ripe upon the ground,  
 unless it shall please God of his infinite goodness to stretch  
 forth his holy hand over us; considering by sundry examples  
 heretofore, that God at the contemplation of the earnest and  
 devout prayers, oftentimes extended his mercy and grace, and hath  
 also assuredly promised that whensoever we call upon Him  
 for things meet for us, He will grant unto us the same: we hav-  
 ing the government and charge of his people committed unto us,  
 have thought good to cause the same to be exhorted by you and  
 other the prelates of this our realm, with an earnest repentant  
 heart for their iniquities, to call unto God for mercy, and with  
 devout and humble prayers and supplications every person, both

° [See Strype, *Craun.* p. 127.]

by himself apart, and also by common prayer, to beseech Him to send unto us seasonable and temperate weather, to have in those fruits and corn on the ground, which hitherto He hath caused so plenteously to grow; for the which purpose we require you, and nevertheless command you, to send unto all your brethren the bishops within your province, to cause such general rogations and processions to be made incontinently within their dioceses, as in like case heretofore hath been accustomed in this behalf accordingly. Yeven under our signet at our manor of the Moore, the 20th day of August, the xxxv. year of our reign. In capite vero earundem sic scriptum est: By the King. Inscriptio autem hæc est: To the most reverend Father in God, our right trusty and entirely beloved counsellor, the Bishop of Canterbury.

Quibus quidem literis pro nostro erga suæ Regiæ Majestatis excellentiam officio obtemperare, uti par est, summo opere cupientes, vestræ fraternitati tenore præsentium committimus, et Regiæ Majestatis vice et nomine, quibus in hac parte fungimur, mandamus, quatenus attentis præmissis sævientis pestis rigore et bellorum tumultibus, quibus orbis Christianus in præsentiarum, proh dolor! undique æstuat: omnibus et singulis confratribus nostris coepiscopis nostris, et Ecclesiæ nostræ Christi Cantuarien' suffraganeis, cum ea qua poteritis celeritate accommoda præcipiatis, ut ipsorum singuli in suis cathedralibus et civitatum et diocesium suarum parochialibus ecclesiis, exposito publice literarum regiarum hujuscemodi pio et sancto tenore, clericos et laicos infra suas dioceses degentes sedulo et accurate moveant et inducant, aut moveri et induci faciant sanctis monitis et salubribus præceptis; (atque sic a vobis in civitate et diocesi vestra London' fieri volumus) qualibet quarta et sexta feriis publicis supplicationibus et suffragiis Altissimum devote adorent, eorumque precibus, uti fieri assuevit, suam immensam misericordiam implorent, quatenus in ira sua, quam nostris male meritis juste provocavimus, misericordiæ suæ recordatus, quibus offensus hujuscemodi super nos merito immisit afflictiones, propitiatus misericorditer nobis resipiscentibus submoveat: ab orationibus et suffragiis hujuscemodi non cessantes, donec aliud a nobis in hac parte habueritis in mandatis. Dat' in manerio nostro de Croydon 23 die mensis Augusti, anno Domini MDXLIII. nostræ consecrationis anno undecimo.

## XXII.

*Mandate by the Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishop of London, for Prayers of Procession in English.*

Wilkins,  
*Concilia*,  
vol. iii.  
p. 869. from  
Cranm. Re-  
gist. f. 48. b.

THOMAS, &c. venerabili confratri nostro domino Edmundo, &c. salutem et fraternam in Domino charitatem. Literas invictissimi domini nostri Regis, manu sua signatas, et signeto suo obsignatas, nobis inscriptas, et ad nos datas, nuper debitis cum honore et reverentia accepimus, tenorem subsequenter complectentes :

¶ Most Reverend Father in God, right trusty and right well-beloved, we greet you well ; and let you wit that, calling to our remembrance the miserable state of all Christendom, being at this present, besides all other troubles, so plagued with most cruel wars, hatreds, and dissensions<sup>r</sup>, as no place of the same almost being the whole reduced to a very narrow corner, remaineth in good peace, agreement, and concord, the help and remedy whereof far exceeding the power of any man, must be called for of Him who only is able to grant our petitions, and never forsaketh nor repelleth any that firmly believe and faithfully call on him ; unto whom also the examples of Scripture encourageth us in all these and other our troubles and necessities to fly, and to cry for aid and succour : being therefore resolved to have continually from henceforth general Processions in all cities, towns, churches, and parishes of this our realm, said and sung with such reverence and devotion as appertaineth, for as much as heretofore the people, partly for lack of good instruction and calling, partly for that they understood no part of such prayers or suffrages, as were used to be sung and said, have

¶ [“ Occasional prayers and suffrages to be used throughout all churches, began now to be more usual than formerly. For these common devotions were twice this year [1544.] appointed by authority, as they had been once the last ; which I look upon the Archbishop to be the great instrument in procuring : that he might by this means, by little and little, bring into use prayer in the English tongue.” Strype, *Cranm.* p. 127. One of the instances mentioned by Strype must be referred to the following year. See No. xxiii.]

¶ [See Burnet, *Ref.* vol. i. App. B. iii. No. 28. Strype remarks that the King’s letter “ runs in such a pious strain, as though none but the Archbishop had been the suggester thereof.” Strype, *Cranm.* p. 128.]

¶ [Henry VIII. was now at war with France and Scotland, and was on the point of invading the former country in conjunction with the Emperor Charles V.]

used to come very slackly to the Procession, when the same have been commanded heretofore: we have set forth certain godly prayers and suffrages\* in our native English tongue, which we send you herewith, signifying unto you, that for the special trust and confidence we have of your godly mind and earnest desire to the setting forward of the glory of God and the true worshipping of his most holy name within that province committed by us unto you; we have sent unto you these suffrages, not to be for a month or two observed, and after slenderly considered, as other our Injunctions have to our no little marvel been used; but to the intent that as well the same as other our Injunctions may earnestly be set forth by preaching, good exhortations, and otherways to the people, in such sort as they, feeling the godly taste thereof, may godly and joyously with thanks receive, embrace, and frequent the same, as appertaineth. Wherefore we will and command you, as you will answer unto us for the contrary, not only to cause these prayers and suffrages aforesaid to be published frequently, and openly used in all towns, churches, villages, and parishes of your own diocese, but also to signify this our pleasure unto all other bishops of your province, willing and commanding them in our name, and by virtue hereof, to do and execute the same accordingly; unto whose proceedings in the execution of this our commandment, we will that you have a special respect, and make report unto us, if any shall not with good dexterity accomplish the same, not failing, as our special trust is in you. Yeven under our signet at our manor of St. James, the eleventh of June the xxxvi year of our reign. In capite vero eorundem sic scriptum est: By the King. Inscriptio autem hæc est: To the most reverend father in God,

\* ["I have not met with these suffrages; which if I had, I should have been inclined to publish them here, and the rather because I believe they were of Cranmer's own composing." Strype, *Cranm.* p. 129. But Burnet and Mr. Todd are probably correct in supposing that these prayers and suffrages are the same which formed a Litany published on the 16th of June in this year, by the King's printer Thos. Barthelet "Cum privilegio," under the following title: *A Letany with Suffrages to be sayd or sung in Time of Processions. With an Exhortation to Prayer, thought meet by the King and his Clergy to be read to the People in every Church, afore Processions.* Ames, *Typogr. Antiq.* vol. iii. p. 450. edit. Dibdin. A full account of this publication will be found in Burnet, *Ref.* vol. iii. p. 315. The Litany contained in it was inserted in the Primer of 1545, and differs but little from that still in use.]

our right trusty and right well-beloved counsellor, the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Nos vero pro nostra erga suam celsitudinem observantia, toto pectore affectantes literis et mandatis suis regiis, uti decet, obtemperare, volentesque pro debito nostri officii omnem curam et solertem nostram in commissis et demandatis a sua Majestate adhibere diligentiam, vobis pro parte regię suę Majestatis tenore præsentium mandamus et præcipiendo injungimus, quatenus receptis præsentibus, non solum Injunctiones omnes regias ad sacrosanctam religionem firmandam et stabiliendam antehac per auctoritatem regiam promulgatas, cum omni reverentia observandas edicatis et mandatis: verum etiam omni sedulitate et celeritate accommodis sancta hæc suffragia, et salubres orationes, quarum unum exemplar præsentibus annexum vobis per latorem præsentium mittimus, tum quidem in omnibus et singulis ecclesiis cathedralibus, collegiatis, et parochialibus per diocesim et jurisdictionem vestras Londonienses ubilibet sitis et existentibus, tum etiam ab omnibus et singulis aliis episcopis, et confratribus nostris, nostrę Cantuarien' provincię suffraganeis, ubilibet locorum per dioceses et jurisdictiones suas juxta et secundum literarum regiarum suprascriptarum tenorem et continentiam, in omnibus et per omnia exponi, declarari, denunciari, cantari, dici, publicari, et observari facias et faciant, et fieri sedulo procures et procurent. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum præsentibus est impensum. Dat' [decimo] octavo die mensis Junii, Anno Domini MDXLIV. et nostrę consecrationis anno XII.

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### XXIII.

*Mandate by the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Bishop of London for keeping Processions in English.*

Cranm.  
Register,  
fol. 26. b.

THOMAS, permissione divina, &c. venerabili confratri nostro Domino Edmundo permissione eadem London' Episcopo, &c. vestrove vicario in spiritualibus generali et officiali principali, salutem, et fraternam in Domino charitatem. Literas missivas clarissimorum et prudentissimorum Dominorum de privatis consiliis suę regię Majestatis manibus subscriptas, nobis inscriptas



et per equos dispositos [advectas,] nuper recepimus, tenorem sequentem complectentes.

<sup>†</sup> After our right hearty commendations to your good lordship, these shall be to signify unto the same, that the King's Highness having so provided for the safety of his Grace's realm, as the great malice of his enemies shall by the grace of God take small effect <sup>u</sup>; (for the repulsing of the which his Highness hath in a readiness to set abroad, at the furthest on Wednesday next <sup>z</sup>, such a puissant navy as hath not been seen assembled in the remembrance of man <sup>y</sup>;) considering nevertheless that all victories and good successes cometh only at the direction and appointment of God, following herein the trade of such a Christian prince as he is, hath devised to have Processions throughout the realm in such sort as in like cases hath heretofore laudably been accustomed: requiring your lordship therefore to take order incontinently, that from henceforth

<sup>†</sup> [This Letter from the Council is printed by Strype, *Cranm.* p. 129, who places it under the year 1544. But the date of 1545 is entered in the Register very distinctly, at the end of the Archbishop's mandate: and it may also be supported, as will be seen in the following notes, by internal evidence.]

<sup>u</sup> [Great alarm was caused in England in 1545, by a threatened invasion from France; and in the month of July, the month immediately preceding the date of this mandate, the French fleet rode triumphant in the Channel, and made descents on the coast of Sussex and on the Isle of Wight. See Stow, *Annals*; and *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 786, &c.]

<sup>z</sup> [In the *State Papers* is a letter from John Dudley, Lord Lisle, the Lord Admiral, in which he speaks with confidence of sailing from Portsmouth on Tuesday the 11th of August; and on the 15th he writes from sea, that "the enemies and we have sight one of the other, striving who shall get the advantage of the wind." No action however took place, and on the 21st Lord Lisle had received information that the French fleet was riding off their own coast, and that it was "not possible for their army to return any more to the sea this year, both for scarcity of victuals and for lack of men. For the most part of these that have been out, had rather be hanged than go forth again. There is no manner of courage, nor gladness, nor appearance of comfort among them. The common people (talking as they dare) grudgeth, saying, their King hath been at great charges, and nothing done." In September the English fleet in their turn made a descent on the coast of Normandy. See a large collection of documents on the events of this summer in the *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 786, &c. In one of them, a Report of the "State of Things," Craumer appears in a new character. "My Lord of Canterbury having required certain pieces of artillery to be drawn to and from sundry places upon the cliffs, with horses at the charge of the country, for the repelling of the enemies, shall be furnished of the same, if Mr. Seymour, upon view of the places, shall think it expedient." p. 786.]

<sup>y</sup> [This "puissant navy" consisted of 104 sail, carrying 12,738 men. The names of the vessels and of their captains, their tonnage, and the number of their crews, with the orders issued on sailing, will be found in the *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 810.]

throughout your province the said Processions be kept continually upon the accustomed days and none otherwise, and sung or said, as the number of the quire shall serve for the same, in the English tongue, to the intent that there may be an uniformity in every place; whereby it may please God at all times to prosper his Majesty in all his affairs, and the rather to have regard at this time unto the uprightness of his Grace's quarrel, and to send his Highness victorious success of the same. And thus we bid your good lordship most heartily well to fare. From Petworth, the 10th day of August. Your lordship's assured loving friends, W. Essex, Ste. Wynton., Anthonye Browne, William Paget.

Quibus pro nostro officio obtemperare, uti decet, summo cupientes, vestræ fraternitati tenore præsentium committimus, et regiæ Majestatis vice et nomine quibus fungimur, mandamus, quatenus attentis diligenter literarum hujusmodi tenore, et bellorum tam terrestrium quam maritimorum tumultibus, quibus hoc inclitum regnum Angliæ undique per mare et terram tum in Gallia et Scotia, tum in partibus Boloniæ assidue infestatur et gravatur, omnibus et singulis confratribus, coepiscopis nostris et Ecclesiæ nostræ Christi Cant' suffraganeis, cum ea qua poteritis celeritate accommoda præcipiatis, ut ipsorum singuli, in suis cathedralibus et civitatum ac dioc' suarum parochialibus ecclesiis exposito publice literarum hujusmodi pio et sancto tenore, clericos et laicos infra suas dioc' degentes sedulo et accurate moveant et inducant, aut moveri et induci sanctis monitionibus et salubribus præceptis faciant, (atque sic a vobis in civitate et dioc' London' fieri volumus) qualibet quarta et sexta feria publicis supplicationibus et suffragiis dudum Angliæ [sermone] conceptis et publicatis, concinna modulatione et una voce, cunctipotentem Deum Sabaoth omnis victoriæ largitorem unicum, sancte et pie, non labiis sed corde puro adorent, et precibus in perpetuum ipsius auxilium implorent; quatenus eidem domino nostro Regi, exercitibus et classi suæ navali, (quam non solum ad propulsandos verum etiam ad opprimendos et profligandos hostium suorum sceleratos conatus habet instructissimam) de immensa misericordia et justitia suis, victoriam pariter et triumphum, clementer et benigne in tam probato certantibus agone largiri et concedere dignetur, ut devictis hostibus nostris, et rebus ex sententia feliciter gestis, illi concordibus animis assidue

hymnos cantemus triumphales. Quibus vos tantisper volumus immorari, quoad aliud a nobis inde habueritis in mandatis: vos etiam harum \* scire in domino hortamur. Quod si quid superiori anno in his orationibus decantandis et dicendis a vestris gregibus fuerit oscitanter omissum, id nunc rescire et in melius reformare, habita hujus turbulentæ tempestatis congrua ratione, summo studio prout fieri † confidimus curetis: bene valeatis, frater charissime. Ex ædibus nostris de Bekysborne nostræ Cant' dioc' 11<sup>o</sup> Aug. A. D. 1545. et nostræ consecr' an' 13.

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XXIV.

*A Preface made by the King's most excellent Majesty unto his Primer Book<sup>a</sup>.*

HENRY the VIIIth, by the grace of God King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and in earth Supreme Head of the Church of England and Ireland, to all and singular our subjects, as well of the clergy as also of the laity, within any our dominions whatsoever they be, greeting. It is the part of kings (whom the Lord hath constituted and set for pastors of his people) not only to procure that a quiet and peaceable life may be led of all his universal subjects, but also that the same life may be passed over godly, devoutly, and virtuously in the true worshipping and service of God; to the honour of Him, and to the sanctifying of his name, and to the everlasting salvation of their own selves. But to godly devotion there belongeth many points, of which that same is not the least, the which doth purely, and with perfect understanding, make invocation to God the Father, and of the Author and Giver of all goodness earnestly craveth such things as be good, and for the soul health, for that part of the life that is behind, to be well ordered; and rendereth thanks for the bounteous giving of good things past, and also for the putting away of evils; and therefore doth sacrifice unto God with the calves and burnt offering of the lips. But the pureness thereof consisteth in this point, if the heavenly Father of Lights be worshipped and served according to the prescription and ap-

\* [Some omission seems to have been made in these places by the clerk who entered the document in the register.]

<sup>a</sup> [See Preface.]

pointment of the word of God ; if we be wary and circumspect in this behalf, that we talk with Him in our prayers according to his will : after whose appointing if we direct our prayers, we have assured trust and affiance (as the writing of the Apostle teacheth) that we be heard of Him. Now prayer is used or made with right and perfect understanding, if we sing with our spirit, and sing with our mind or understanding ; so that the deep contemplation or ravishing of the mind follow the pithiness of the words, and the guiding of reason go before ; lest when the spirit doth pray, the mind take no fruit at all, and the party that understandeth not the pith or effectualness of the talk that he frankly maketh with God, may be as an harp or pipe, having a sound, but not understanding the noise that itself hath made. And forasmuch as we have bestowed right great labour and diligence about setting a perfect stay in the other parts of our religion, we have thought good to bestow our earnest labour in this part also, being a thing as fruitful as the best, that men may know both what they pray, and also with what words, lest things special good and principal, being inwrapped in ignorance of the words, should not perfectly come to the mind and to the intelligence of men ; or else things being nothing to the purpose, nor very meet to be offered unto God, should have the less effect with God, being the distributor of all gifts.

In consideration whereof we have set out and given to our subjects a determinate form of praying in their own mother tongue, to the intent that such as are ignorant of any strange or foreign speech, may have what to pray in their own acquainted and familiar language with fruit and understanding, and to the end that they shall not offer unto God (being the searcher of the reins and hearts) neither things standing against true religion and godliness, nor yet words far out of their intelligence and understanding.

Nevertheless, to the intent that such as have understanding of the Latin tongue, and think that they can with a more fervent spirit make their prayers in that tongue, may have wherein to do their devotion to God, being none acceptor neither of any person ne tongue, we have provided the selfsame form of praying to be set forth in Latin also, which we had afore published in English, to the intent that we should be all things to all persons, and that all parties may at large be satisfied, and as well the wills and desire of them that perceive both

tongues, as also the necessity and lack of them that do not understand the Latin.

And we have judged it to be of no small force, for the avoiding of strife and contention, to have one uniform manner or course of praying throughout all our dominions; and a very great efficacy it hath to stir up the ferventness of the mind, if the confuse manner of praying be somewhat holpen with the fellowship or annexion of understanding; if the ferventness of the prayer being well perceived do put away the tediousness or fainting of the mind, being otherwise occupied and turned from prayer; if the plenteousness of understanding do nourish and feed the burning heat of the heart; and finally, if the cheerfulness of earnest minding the matter put clean away all slothfulness of the mind tofore gathered.

Wherefore as great as our will and forwardness hath been to set forth and publish these things, so great ought your diligence and industry to be towards well and fruitfully using the same; that when all things hath been prepared and set forth to the glory of God and for your wealth, yourselves only may not be slack or negligent towards your own behoof, and toward your own benefits.

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## XXV.

*Injunctions given by the most Excellent Prince, Edward the Sixth, by the Grace of God, King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and in Earth under Christ, of the Church of England and of Ireland, the Supreme Head: To all and singular his loving subjects, as well of the Clergy as of the Laity.*

THE King's most royal Majesty, by the advice of his most dear uncle the Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector of all his realms, dominions, and subjects, and governor of his most royal person, and residue of his most honourable Council, intending the advancement of the true honour of Almighty God, the suppression of idolatry and superstition throughout all his realms and dominions, and to plant true religion, to the extirpation of all hypocrisy, enormities, and abuses, as to his duty appertaineth; doth minister unto his loving subjects these godly In-

Sparrow,  
*Collection  
of Records,*  
p. 1.  
Wilkins,  
*Concilia,*  
vol. iv. p. 3.

junctions hereafter following ; whereof part were given unto them heretofore, by the authority of his most dear beloved father, King Henry the Eighth, of most famous memory, and part are now ministered and given by his Majesty: all which Injunctions his Highness willesh and commandeth his said loving subjects, by his supreme authority, obediently to receive, and truly to observe and keep, every man, in their offices, degrees, and states, as they will avoid his displeasure, and the pains in the same Injunctions hereafter expressed.

The first is, That all deans, archdeacons, parsons, vicars, and other ecclesiastical persons, shall faithfully keep and observe, and, as far as in them may lie, shall cause to be kept and observed of other, all and singular laws and statutes, made as well for the abolishing and extirpation of the Bishop of Rome, his pretended and usurped power and jurisdiction, as for the establishment and confirmation of the King's authority, jurisdiction, and supremacy of the Church of England and Ireland. And furthermore, all ecclesiastical persons, having cure of souls, shall, to the uttermost of their wit, knowledge, and learning, purely, sincerely, and without any colour or dissimulation, declare, manifest, and open four times every year at the least, in their sermons and other collations, that the Bishop of Rome's usurped power and jurisdiction having no establishment nor ground by the laws of God, was of most just causes taken away and abolished, and that therefore no manner of obedience or subjection, within his realms and dominions, is due unto him. And that the King's power, within his realms and dominions, is the highest power under God, to whom all men, within the same realms and dominions, by God's laws, owe most loyalty and obedience, afore and above all other powers and potentates in earth.

Besides this, to the intent that all superstition and hypocrisy crept into divers men's hearts, may vanish away ; they shall not set forth or extol any images, relics, or miracles, for any superstition or lucre, nor allure the people by any enticements to the pilgrimage of any saint or image : but reproving the same, they shall teach, that all goodness, health, and grace, ought to be both asked and looked for only of God, as of the very Author and Giver of the same, and of none other.

*Item*, That they the persons above rehearsed, shall make or

cause to be made in their churches, and every other cure they have, one sermon every quarter of the year at the least, wherein they shall purely and sincerely declare the word of God: and in the same exhort their hearers to the works of faith, mercy, and charity, specially prescribed and commanded in Scripture; and that works devised by men's phantasies, besides Scripture, as wandering to pilgrimages, offering of money, candles, or tapers, or relics, or images, or kissing and licking of the same, praying upon beads, or such like superstition, have not only no promise of reward in Scripture for doing of them; but contrariwise great threats and maledictions of God, for that they be things tending to idolatry and superstition, which of all other offences God Almighty doth most detest and abhor, for that the same diminish most his honour and glory.

*Item,* That such images as they know in any of their cures to be or to have been abused with pilgrimage or offering of any thing made thereunto, or shall be hereafter censured unto, they (and none other private persons) shall for the avoiding of that most detestable offence of idolatry, forthwith take down, or cause to be taken down, and destroy the same; and shall suffer from henceforth no torches nor candles, tapers, or images of wax, to be set afore any image or picture, but only two lights upon the high altar, before the sacrament, which for the signification that Christ is the very true light of the world, they shall suffer to remain still: admonishing their parishioners, that images serve for no other purpose but to be a remembrance, whereby men may be admonished of the holy lives and conversation of them that the said images do represent: which images if they do abuse for any other intent, they commit idolatry in the same, to the great danger of their souls.

*Item,* That every holy day throughout the year, when they have no sermon, they shall, immediately after the Gospel, openly and plainly recite to their parishioners in the pulpit, the Pater Noster, the Credo, and Ten Commandments in English, to the intent the people may learn the same by heart: exhorting all parents and householders to teach their children; and servants the same, as they are bound by the law of God and in conscience to do.

*Item,* That they shall charge fathers and mothers, masters and governors, to bestow their children and servants, even from their

childhood, either to learning or to some honest exercise, occupation, or husbandry: exhorting and counselling, and by all the ways and means they may, as well in their sermons and collations as otherwise, persuading the said fathers and mothers, masters and other governors, diligently to provide and foresee that the youth be in no manner or wise brought up in idleness, lest at any time afterward for lack of some craft, occupation, or other honest means to live by, they be driven to fall to begging, stealing, or some other unthriftiness: forasmuch as we may daily see, through sloth and idleness, divers valiant men fall, some to begging, and some to theft and murder; which after brought to calamity and misery, do blame their parents, friends, and governors, which suffered them to be brought up so idly in their youth, where if they had been well brought up in learning some good occupation or craft, they would, being rulers of their own household, have profited as well themselves as divers other persons, to the great commodity and ornament of the commonwealth.

*Also*, That the said parsons, vicars, and other curates shall diligently provide that the sacraments and sacramentals be duly and reverently ministered in their parishes. And if at any time it happen them in any of the cases expressed in the statutes of this realm, or of special license given by the King's Majesty, to be absent from their benefices, they shall leave their cure not to a rude and unlearned person, but to an honest, well learned, and expert curate, that can by his ability teach the rude and unlearned of their cure wholesome doctrine, and reduce them to the right way that do err; which will also execute these Injunctions, and do their duty otherwise, as they are bound to do in every behalf, and accordingly may and will profit their cure, no less with good example of living than with the declaration of the word of God; or else their lack and default shall be imputed unto them, who shall straitly answer for the same if they do otherwise. And always let them see, that neither they nor their curates do seek more their own profit, promotion, or advantage, than the profit of the souls they have under their cure, or the glory of God.

*Also*, That they shall provide within three months next after this visitation, one book of the whole Bible, of the largest volume in English. And within one twelve months next after



the said visitation, the Paraphrasis of Erasmus, also in English, upon the Gospels, and the same set up in some convenient place within the said church that they have cure of, whereas their parishioners may most commodiously resort unto the same, and read the same. The charges of which books shall be ratably borne between the parson and appropriatory, and parishioners aforesaid, that is to say, the one half by the parson or proprietary, and the other half by the parishioners. And they shall discourage no man, authorised and licensed thereto, from the reading any part of the Bible, either in Latin or in English ; but shall rather comfort and exhort every person to read the same, as the very lively word of God, and the special food of man's soul, that all Christian persons are bound to embrace, believe, and follow, if they look to be saved : whereby they may the better know their duties to God, to their sovereign Lord the King, and their neighbour ; ever gently and charitably exhorting them, and in his Majesty's name straitly charging and commanding them, that in the reading thereof, no man to reason or contend, but quietly to hear the reader.

*Also*, The said ecclesiastical persons shall in no wise, at any unlawful time, nor for other any cause than for their honest necessity, haunt or resort to any taverns or alehouses. And after their dinner or supper, they shall not give themselves to drinking or riot, spending their time idly by day or by night, at dice, cards, or tables playing, or any other unlawful game ; but at all times, as they shall have leisure, they shall hear and read somewhat of holy Scripture, or shall occupy themselves with some other honest exercise ; and that they always do the things which appertain to honesty, with endeavour to profit the commonweal ; having always in mind that they ought to excel all other in purity of life, and should be an example to the people to live well and Christianly.

*Item*, That they shall in confessions every Lent examine every person that cometh to confession to them, whether they can recite the Articles of their Faith, the Pater Noster, and the Ten Commandments in English, and hear them say the same particularly ; wherein if they be not perfect, they shall declare then, that every Christian person ought to know the said things before they should receive the blessed sacrament of the altar, and admonish them to learn the said necessary things more per-

fectly, or else they ought not to presume to come to God's board, without a perfect knowledge and will to observe the same ; and if they do, it is to the great peril of their souls, and also to the worldly rebuke that they might incur hereafter by the same.

*Also,* That they shall admit no man to preach within any their cures, but such as shall appear unto them to be sufficiently licensed thereunto, by the King's Majesty, the Lord Protector's Grace, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of York in his province, or the Bishop of the diocese ; and such as shall be so licensed, they shall gladly receive to declare the word of God, without any resistance or contradiction.

*Also,* If they have heretofore declared to their parishioners any thing to the extolling or setting forth of pilgrimages, relics, or images, or lighting of candles, kissing, kneeling, decking of the same images, or any such superstition, they shall now openly before the same recant and reprove the same ; showing them, as the truth is, that they did the same upon no ground of Scripture, but were led and seduced by a common error and abuse, crept into the Church through the sufferance and avarice of such as felt profit by the same.

*Also,* If they do or shall know any man within their parish or elsewhere, that is a letter of the word of God to be read in English, or sincerely preached, or of the execution of these the King's Majesty's Injunctions, or a fautor of the Bishop of Rome's pretended power, now by the laws of this realm justly rejected, extirpated, and taken away utterly, they shall detect and present the same to the King or his Council, or to the justice of peace next adjoining.

*Also,* That the parson, vicar, or curate, and parishioners of every parish within this realm, shall, in their churches and chapels, keep one book or register, wherein they shall write the day and year of every wedding, christening, and burial, made within their parish for their time, and so every man succeeding them likewise ; and therein shall write every person's name that shall be so wedded, christened, or buried. And for the safe keeping of the same book, the parish shall be bound to provide of their common charges one sure coffer, with two locks and keys, whereof the one to remain with the parson, vicar, or curate, and the other with the wardens of every parish church or chapel,

wherein the said book shall be laid up: which book they shall every Sunday take forth, and in the presence of the said wardens, or one of them, write and record in the same all the weddings, christenings, and burials made the whole week before; and that done to lay up the book in the said coffer as afore. And for every time that the same shall be omitted, the party that shall be in the fault thereof, shall forfeit to the said church 3s. 4d., to be employed to the poor men's box of that parish.

*Furthermore,* Because the goods of the Church are called the goods of the poor, and at these days nothing is less seen than the poor to be sustained with the same, all parsons, vicars, pensionaries, prebendaries, and other beneficed men within this deanery, not being resident upon their benefices, which may dispend yearly 20*l.* or above, either within this deanery or elsewhere, shall distribute hereafter among their poor parishioners, or other inhabitants there, in the presence of the churchwardens, or some other honest men of the parish, the fortieth part of the fruits and revenues of their said benefices, lest they be worthily noted of ingratitude, which reserving so many parts to themselves, cannot vouchsafe to impart the fortieth portion thereof among the poor people of that parish, that is so fruitful and profitable unto them.

And to the intent that learned men may hereafter spring the more for the execution of the premises, every parson, vicar, clerk, or beneficed man within this deanery, having yearly to dispend in benefices and other promotions of the Church an hundred pounds, shall give competent exhibition to one scholar: and for so many hundred pounds more as he may dispend, to so many scholars more shall he give like exhibition in the university of Oxford or Cambridge, or some grammar school; which after they have profited in good learning may be partners of their patron's cure and charge, as well in preaching as otherwise, in the execution of their offices, or may, when need shall be, otherwise profit the commonweal with their counsel and wisdom.

*Also,* That the proprietaries, parsons, vicars, and clerks, having churches, chapels, or mansions within this deanery, shall bestow yearly hereafter upon the same mansions or chancels of their churches being in decay, the fifth part of that their benefices, till they be fully repaired; and the same so repaired, shall always keep and maintain in good estate.

*Also*, That the said parsons, vicars, and clerks shall, once every quarter of the year, read these Injunctions given unto them, openly and deliberately before all their parishioners, to the intent that both they may be the better admonished of their duty, and their said parishioners the more moved to follow the same for their part.

*Also*, Forasmuch as by a law established, every man is bound to pay his tithes, no man shall by colour of duty omitted by their curates, detain their tithes, and so redub and requite one wrong with another, or be his own judge; but shall truly pay the same, as he hath been accustomed, to their parsons, vicars, and curates, without any restraint or diminution. And such lack and default as they can justly find in their parsons and curates, to call for reformation thereof at their ordinaries and other superiors' hands, who, upon complaint and due proof thereof, shall reform the same accordingly.

*Also*, That no person shall from henceforth alter or change the order and manner of any fasting day that is commanded, or of common prayer or divine service, otherwise than is specified in these Injunctions, until such time as the same shall be otherwise ordered and transposed by the King's authority.

*Also*, That every parson, vicar, curate, chauntry-priest, and stipendiary, being under the degree of a bachelor of divinity, shall provide and have of his own, within three months after this visitation, the New Testament both in Latin and in English, with the Paraphrase upon the same of Erasmus, and diligently study the same, conferring the one with the other. And the bishops and other ordinaries by themselves or their officers, in their synods and visitations, shall examine the said ecclesiastical persons how they have profited in the study of holy Scripture.

*Also*, In the time of high mass, within every church, he that saith or singeth the same, shall read or cause to be read the Epistle and Gospel of that mass in English, and not in Latin, in the pulpit, or in such convenient place as the people may hear the same. And every Sunday and holy day they shall plainly and distinctly read, or cause to be read, one chapter of the New Testament in English in the said place at Matins immediately after the lessons: and at Evensong, after Magnificat, one chapter of the Old Testament. And to the intent the premises may be more conveniently done, the King's Majesty's pleasure is, that

when nine lessons should be read in the church, three of them shall be omitted and left out with the responds : and at Even-song-time the responds, with all the memories, shall be left off for that purpose.

*Also*, Because those persons which be sick and in peril of death, be oftentimes put in despair by the craft and subtlety of the Devil, who is then most busy, and especially with them that lack the knowledge, sure persuasion, and stedfast belief that they may be made partakers of the great and infinite mercy which Almighty God of his most bountiful goodness and mere liberality, without our deserving, hath offered freely to all persons that put their full trust and confidence in Him : therefore that this damnable vice of despair may be clearly taken away, and firm belief and stedfast hope surely conceived of all their parishioners, being in any danger, they shall learn and have always in a readiness, such comfortable places and sentences of Scripture as do set forth the mercy, benefits, and goodness of Almighty God towards all penitent and believing persons, that they may at all times, when necessity shall require, promptly comfort their flock with the lively word of God, which is the only stay of man's conscience.

*Also*, To avoid all contention and strife, which heretofore hath risen among the King's Majesty's subjects in sundry places of his realms and dominions, by reason of fond courtesy, and challenging of places in Procession, and also that they may the more quietly hear that which is said or sung to their edifying, they shall not from henceforth, in any parish church at any time use any Procession about the church or churchyard, or other place, but immediately before high mass, the priests, with other of the quire, shall kneel in the midst of the church, and sing or say plainly and distinctly, the Litany which is set forth in English, with all the suffrages following, and none other Procession or Litany to be had or used but the said Litany in English, adding nothing thereto, but as the King's Grace shall hereafter appoint; and in cathedral or collegiate churches, the same shall be done in such places as our commissaries in our visitation shall appoint. And in the time of the Litany, of the mass, of the sermon, and when the priest readeth the Scripture to the parishioners, no manner of persons, without a just and urgent cause, shall depart out of the church ; and all ringing and knoll-

ing of bells, shall be utterly forborne at that time, except one bell in convenient time to be rung or knolled before the sermon.

*Also*, Like as the people be commonly occupied the work day with bodily labour, for their bodily sustenance, so was the holy day at the first beginning godly instituted and ordained, that the people should that day give themselves wholly to God. And whereas in our time God is more offended than pleased, more dishonoured than honoured upon the holy day, because of idleness, pride, drunkenness, quarrelling, and brawling, which are most used in such days, people nevertheless persuading themselves sufficiently to honour God on that day, if they hear mass and service, though they understand nothing to their edifying: therefore all the King's faithful and loving subjects shall from henceforth celebrate and keep their holy day according to God's holy will and pleasure, that is, in hearing the word of God read and taught, in private and public prayers, in knowing their offences to God, and amendment of the same, in reconciling their selves charitably to their neighbours where displeasure hath been, in oftentimes receiving the communion of the very body and blood of Christ, in visiting of the poor and sick, in using all soberness and godly conversation. Yet notwithstanding all parsons, vicars, and curates shall teach and declare unto their parishioners, that they may with a safe and quiet conscience, in the time of harvest, labour upon the holy and festival days, and save that thing which God hath sent. And if for any scrupulosity, or grudge of conscience, men should superstitiously abstain from working upon those days, that then they should grievously offend and displease God.

*Also*, Forasmuch as variance and contention is a thing which most displeaseth God, and is most contrary to the blessed communion of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ; curates shall in no wise admit to the receiving thereof any of their cure and flock, who hath maliciously and openly contended with his neighbour, unless the same do first charitably and openly reconcile himself again, remitting all rancour and malice, whatsoever controversy hath been between them; and nevertheless their just titles and rights they may charitably prosecute before such as have authority to hear the same.

*Also*, That every dean, archdeacon, master of collegiate church, master of hospital, and prebendary being priest, shall preach by

himself personally twice every year at the least, either in the place where he is intituled, or in some church where he hath jurisdiction, or else which is to the said place appropriate or united.

*Also*, That they shall instruct and teach in their cures, that no man ought obstinately and maliciously to break and violate the laudable ceremonies of the Church, by the King commanded to be observed, and as yet not abrogated. And on the other side, that whosoever doth superstitiously abuse them, doth the same to the great peril and danger of his soul's health: as in casting holy water upon his bed, upon images, and other dead things, or bearing about him holy bread or St. John's Gospel, or making of crosses of wood upon Palm Sunday, in time of reading of the passion, or keeping of private holy days, as bakers, brewers, smiths, shoemakers, and such other do; or ringing of holy bells, or blessing with the holy candle, to the intent thereby to be discharged of the burden of sin, or to drive away devils, or to put away dreams and phantasies; or in putting trust and confidence of health and salvation in the same ceremonies, when they be only ordained, instituted, and made to put us in remembrance of the benefits which we have received by Christ. And if he use them for any other purpose, he grievously offendeth God.

*Also*, That they shall take away, utterly extinct, and destroy all shrines, covering of shrines, all tables, candlesticks, trindles or rolls of wax, pictures, paintings, and all other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstition: so that there remain no memory of the same in walls, glass windows, or elsewhere within their churches or houses. And they shall exhort all their parishioners to do the like, within their several houses. And that the churchwardens, at the common charge of the parishioners in every church, shall provide a comely and honest pulpit, to be set in a convenient place within the same, for the preaching of God's word.

*Also*, They shall provide and have within three months after this visitation, a strong chest, with a hole in the upper part thereof, to be provided at the cost and charge of the parish, having three keys; whereof one shall remain in the custody of the parson, vicar, or curate, and the other two in the custody of the churchwardens, or any other two honest men, to be appointed

by the parish from year to year. Which chest you shall set and fasten near unto the high altar, to the intent the parishioners should put into it their oblation and alms for their poor neighbours. And the parson, vicar, or curate, shall diligently from time to time, and specially when men make their testaments, call upon, exhort, and move their neighbours, to confer and give, as they may well spare, to the said chest; declaring unto them, whereas heretofore they have been diligent to bestow much substance otherwise than God commanded, upon pardons, pilgrimages, trentals, decking of images, offering of candles, giving to friars, and upon other like blind devotions, they ought at this time to be much more ready to help the poor and needy, knowing that to relieve the poor is a true worshipping of God, required earnestly upon pain of everlasting damnation: and that also, whatsoever is given for their comfort, is given to Christ himself and so is accepted of Him, that He will mercifully reward the same with everlasting life: the which alms and devotion of the people, the keepers of the keys shall at times convenient take out of the chest, and distribute the same in the presence of their whole parish, or six of them, to be truly and faithfully delivered to their most needy neighbours: and if they be provided for, then to the reparation of highways next adjoining. And also the money which riseth of fraternities, guilds, and other stocks of the Church, (except by the King's Majesty's authority it be otherwise appointed,) shall be put into the said chest, and converted to the said use, and also the rents and lands, the profit of cattle, and money given or bequeathed to the finding of torches, lights, tapers, and lamps, shall be converted to the said use, saving that it shall be lawful for them to bestow part of the said profits upon the reparation of the church, if great need require, and whereas the parish is very poor, and not able otherwise to repair the same.

And forasmuch as priests be public ministers of the Church, and upon the holy days ought to apply themselves to the common administration of the whole parish, they shall not be bound to go to women lying in childbed, except in time of dangerous sickness, and not to fetch any corpse before it be brought to the churchyard; and if the woman be sick, or the corpse brought to the church, the priest shall do his duty accordingly, in visiting the woman, and burying the dead person.



*Also*, To avoid the detestable sin of simony, because buying and selling of benefices is execrable before God ; therefore all such persons as buy any benefices or come to them by fraud or deceit, shall be deprived of such benefices, and be made unable at any time after to receive any other spiritual promotion. And such as do sell them, or by any colour do bestow them for their own gain and profit, shall lose the right and title of patronage and presentment for that time, and the gift thereof for that vacation shall appertain to the King's Majesty.

*Also*, Because, through lack of preachers in many places of the King's realms and dominions, the people continue in ignorance and blindness, all parsons, vicars, and curates shall read in the churches every Sunday one of the Homilies, which are and shall be set forth for the same purpose by the King's authority, in such sort as they shall be appointed to do in the Preface of the same.

*Also*, Whereas many indiscreet persons do at this day uncharitably contemn and abuse priests and ministers of the Church, because some of them, having small learning, have of long time favoured fancies rather than God's truth ; yet, forasmuch as their office and function is appointed of God, the King's Majesty willeth and chargeth all his loving subjects, that from henceforth they shall use them charitably and reverently, for their office and administration sake, and especially such as labour in the setting forth of God's holy word.

*Also*, That all manner of persons, which understand not the Latin tongue, shall pray upon none other Primer, but upon that which was lately set forth in English by the authority of King Henry the Eighth, of most famous memory ; and that no teachers of youth shall teach any other than the said Primer. And all those which have knowledge of the Latin tongue, shall pray upon none other Latin Primer, but upon that which is likewise set forth by the said authority. And that all Graces to be said at dinner and supper shall be always said in the English tongue. And that none other Grammar shall be taught in any school or other place within the King's realms and dominions, but only that which is set forth by the said authority.

*Item*, That all chauntry-priests shall exercise themselves in teaching youth to read and write, and bring them up in good manners and other virtuous exercises.

*Item*, When any Sermon or Homily shall be had, the Prime and Hours shall be omitted.

*The Form of bidding the Common Prayers.*

You shall pray for the whole congregation of Christ's Church, and especially for this Church of England and Ireland ; wherein, first, I commend to your devout prayers the King's most excellent Majesty, Supreme Head, immediately under God, of the spirituality and temporality of the same Church ; and for Queen Katharine, Dowager ; and also for my Lady Mary and my Lady Elizabeth, the King's sisters.

Secondly, You shall pray for the Lord Protector's Grace, with all the rest of the King's Majesty's Council ; for all the Lords of this realm, and for the Clergy and Commons of the same: beseeching Almighty God to give every of them, in his degree, grace to use themselves in such wise as may be to God's glory, the King's honour, and the weal of this realm.

Thirdly, Ye shall pray for all them that be departed out of this world in the faith of Christ, that they with us, and we with them, at the day of judgment may rest, both body and soul, with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven.

All which singular Injunctions the King's Majesty ministereth unto his clergy and their successors, and to all his loving subjects ; straitly charging and commanding them to observe and keep the same, upon pain of deprivation, sequestration of fruits or benefices, suspension, excommunication, and such other coercion, as to ordinaries, or other having ecclesiastical jurisdiction, whom his Majesty hath appointed for the due execution of the same, shall be seen convenient ; charging and commanding them to see these Injunctions observed and kept of all persons, being under their jurisdiction, as they will answer to his Majesty for the contrary : and his Majesty's pleasure is, that every justice of peace, being required, shall assist the ordinaries, and every of them, for the due execution of the said Injunctions.

## XXVI.

*King Edward VI.'s Injunctions particularly delivered to the Bishops.*

FIRST, that they should, to the uttermost of their wit and understanding, see and cause all and singular the King's Injunctions theretofore given, or after to be given from time to time, in and through their diocese, duly, faithfully, and truly to be kept, observed, and accomplished; and that they should personally preach within their diocese, every quarter of a year once at the least, that is to say, once in their cathedral churches, and thrice in other several places of their dioceses, whereas they should see it most convenient and necessary, except they had a reasonable excuse to the contrary. Likewise, that they should not retain into their service or household any chaplain, but such as were learned, or able to preach the word of God, and those they should also cause to exercise the same.

Foxe, *Acts*,  
&c. vol. ii.  
p. 657.  
Heylyn,  
*Eccles.*  
*Restaur.*  
p. 37.  
Wilkins,  
*Concilia*,  
vol. iv. p. 9.

Moreover, that they should not give Orders to any person, but such as were learned in holy Scripture; neither should deny them to such as were learned in the same, being of honest conversation and living. And lastly, that they should not at any time or place preach or set forth unto the people any doctrine contrary or repugnant to the effect and intent contained and set forth in the King's Highness's Homilies, neither yet should admit or give license to any to preach within their diocese, but to such as they should know (or at the least assuredly trust) would do the same. And if at any time by hearing, or by report proved, they should perceive the contrary, they should then incontinent not only inhibit that person so offending, but also punish him, and revoke their licence.

## XXVII.

*Letter from the Privy Council concerning Homilies and Injunctions.*

AFTER our most hearty commendations unto your good Lordship. Where the King's Majesty, with the advice and consent of my Lord Protector and the whole Council, hath commanded a general Visitation to be begun through his Majesty's realm, in the which his Majesty's Commissioners, for the better setting

State Paper  
Office. Ec-  
clesiastical  
Papers.

forth of the true honouring of God and extinguishment of all superstition and popery, have in commandment to deliver to men of all sorts several Injunctions meetest for their vocations, and to the priests and curates certain Homilies to be by them read to their parishioners, according to the order of the said Injunctions: Forasmuch as we would wish the same to be in like sort set forth with you, whereas yet no Commissioners be specially addressed, we have thought good to send you herewith certain of the said Homilies and Injunctions, which your Lordship may cause to be delivered to the curates, and others, within the limits of your jurisdiction, by the of High Bolloigne; after the delivery whereof, we trust that as the same be godly, and set forth by the King's Majesty for the good instruction of his Majesty's loving subjects, so you will both yourselves, in your own families, observe the same, and help also to have them well obeyed and kept of others.

T. Cantuarien.

W. Seint John.

T. Seymour.

Rychard Ryche.

Anthone Browne.

Antony Wyngfeld.

William Paget.

Edward North.

William Petre.

## XXVIII.

*A Proclamation concerning the irreverent Talkers of the Sacrament. Dated the 27th day of December, anno regni reg. Edward. primo. [1547.]*

Strype,  
*Memorials*,  
vol. ii. App.  
M. from  
Bp. Moore's  
Library.  
Wilkins,  
*Concilia*,  
vol. iv. p. 18.

WHEREAS the King's Highness hath of late, with the assent and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in the parliament held the fourth day of November, in the first year of his most gracious reign, made a good and godly act and estatute against those who do contemn, despise, or with unseemly and ungodly words deprave and revile the holy sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord, commonly called the *Sacrament of the Altar*: and the said estatute hath most prudently declared, by all the words and terms which Scripture speaketh of it, what is undoubtedly to be accepted, believed, taken and spoken by and of the said sacrament: yet this notwithstanding, his Majesty is advertised that some of his sub-

jects, not contented with such words and terms as Scripture doth declare thereof, nor with that doctrine which the Holy Ghost by the evangelists and St. Paul hath taught us, do not cease to move contentious and superfluous questions of the said holy Sacrament and Supper of the Lord ; entering rashly into the discussing of the high mystery thereof, and go about in their sermons or talks, arrogantly to define the manner, nature, fashion, ways, possibility or impossibility, of those matters ; which neither make to edification, nor God hath by his holy word opened :

Which persons, not contented reverently and with obedient faith to accept that the said Sacrament according to the saying of St. Paul, *The bread is the communion, or partaking, of the body of the Lord : the wine, likewise, the partaking of the blood of Christ*, by the words instituted and taught of Christ ; and that the body and blood of Jesus Christ is there ; which is our comfort, thanksgiving, love-token of Christ's love towards us, and of ours, as his members within ourself ; search and strive unreverently, whether the body and blood aforesaid, is there really or figuratively, locally or circumscriptly and having quantity and greatness, or but substantially and by substance only, or else but in a figure and manner of speaking ; whether his blessed body be there, head, legs, arms, toes and nails, or any other ways, shape, and manner, naked or clothed ; whether he is broken or chewed, or he is always whole ; whether the bread there remaineth, as we see, or how it departeth ; whether the flesh be there alone, and the blood, or part, or each in other, or in the one both, in the other but only blood ; and what blood ; that only which did flow out of the side, or that which remained : with other such irreverent, superfluous, and curious questions, which, how and what, and by what means, and in what form may bring into them, which of human and corrupt curiosity hath desire to search out such mysteries as lieth hid in the infinite and bottomless depth of the wisdom and glory of God ; and to the which our human imbecility cannot attain : and therefore oftentimes turneth the same to their own and others' destruction, by contention and arrogant rashness ; which simple and Christian affection reverently receiving, and obediently believing, without further search, taketh and useth to most great comfort and profit :

For reformation whereof, and to the intent that further contention, tumult, and question, might not rise amongst the King's subjects, the King's Highness, by the advice of the Lord Protector, and other his Majesty's Council, straitly willesh and commandeth that no manner person from henceforth do in any wise contentiously and openly argue, dispute, reason, preach or teach, affirming any more terms of the said blessed Sacrament, than be expressly taught in the Holy Scripture, and mentioned in the foresaid act; nor deny none, which be therein contained and mentioned; until such time as the King's Majesty, by the advice of his Highness's Council and the clergy of this realm, shall define, declare, and set forth an open doctrine thereof; and what terms and words may justly be spoken thereby, other than be expressly in the Scripture contained in the act before rehearsed.

In the mean while the King's Highness's pleasure is, by the advice aforesaid, that every his loving subjects shall devoutly and reverently affirm and take that holy bread to be Christ's body, and that cup to be the cup of his holy blood, according to the purport and effect of the holy Scripture, contained in the act before expressed, and accommodate themselves rather to take the same Sacrament worthily, than rashly to enter into the discussing of the high mystery thereof.

Yet the King's Highness mindeth not hereby to let or stop the ignorant and willing to learn, reverently or privately to demand of those whom he thinketh knoweth more, the further instruction and teaching in the said blessed Sacrament: so that the same be not done with contention, nor in open audience, with a company gathered together about them, nor with tumult: nor doth prohibit any man hereby likewise so quietly, devoutly, and reverently to teach or instruct the weak and unlearned, according to the more talent and learning given to him of God. But only, that all contention, strife and tumult, and irreverentness might be avoided, and in open audience and preaching nothing taught, but which may have the holy Scripture for warrant.

Upon pain that whosoever shall openly, with contention or tumult, and in a company gathered together, either in churches, alehouses, markets, or elsewhere, contrary to the form and effect of this proclamation, defend and maintain, or irreverently

and contentiously demand of any man, any of the questions before rehearsed, either on the one part or of the other, or any such like, or do otherwise revile, contemn, or despise the said Sacrament, by calling it an "idol," or other such vile name; shall incur the King's high indignation, and suffer imprisonment; or to be otherwise grievously punished at his Majesty's will and pleasure.

Giving further in authority to all justices of peace within the shires where they dwell, to apprehend and take all such as contentiously and tumultuously, with companies or routs assembled about them, do dispute, argue, or reason, or stily maintain, or openly preach and define the questions before rehearsed, or any of them, or such like, either on the one part or the other; and to commit the same to prison, until such time as the King's Majesty's pleasure herein be known; and that they immediately do certify the name or names of the party so offending, and of them who were there at the same time present, making the rout or assemble, to the King's Highness's Council: willing and commanding the said justices, with all diligence, to execute the premises, according to the purport, effect, and true meaning of the same, and their most bound duties, as they tender his Highness's will and pleasure, and will answer to the contrary upon their peril.

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### XXIX.

*A Proclamation for the abstaining from Flesh in the Lent time.*

*Dated the 16th day of January, an. reg. prim. [1548.]*

THE King's Highness, by the advice of his most entirely be-  
 loved uncle, Edward Duke of Somerset, Governor of his person,  
 and Protector of all his realms, dominions, and subjects, and  
 other of his Privy Council; considering that his Highness hath  
 not only cure and charge of the defence of his realms and do-  
 minions, as a King, but also as a Christian King, and Supreme  
 Head of the Church of England and Ireland, a desire, will, and  
 charge, to lead and instruct his people, to him committed of  
 God, in such rites, ways, and customs, as might be acceptable to  
 God, and to the further increase of good living and virtue, and  
 that his subjects now having a more perfect and clear light of

*Strype, Memorials, vol. ii. App. N. from Bp. Moore's Library. Wilkins, Concilia, vol. iv. p. 20.*

the Gospel, and true word of the Lord, through the infinite clemency and mercy of Almighty God by the hands of his Majesty, and his most noble father of famous memory, promulgate, showed, declared, and opened unto them, should and ought thereby, in all good works and virtues increase, be more forward, and diligent, and plentiful : as in fasting, prayer, and alms deeds, in love, charity, obedience, and other such good works commanded to us of God in his holy Scripture :

Yet his Highness is advertised and informed, that divers of his subjects be not only to all these more slow and negligent, but rather contemners and despisers of such good and godly acts and deeds ; to the which, if they were of their own minds bent and inclined, they needed not by outward and princely power be appointed and commanded. But forsomuch as at this time now alate, more than at any other time, a great part of his subjects do break and contemn that abstinence which of long time hath been used in this his Majesty's realm upon the Fridays and Saturdays, and the time commonly called Lent, and other accustomed times ; his Highness is constrained to see a convenient order herein set and appointed : not minding thereby that his subjects should think any difference to be in the days or meats, or that the one should be to God more holy, more pure, or more clean, than the other ; for all days and all meats be of one and equal purity, cleanness, and holiness, that we should in them, and by them, live to the glory of God, and at all times, and for all meats, give thanks unto Him, of the which none can defile us at any time, or make us unclean ; being Christian men, to whom all things be holy and pure, so that they be not used in disobedience and vice : but his Majesty hath allowed and approved the days and times before accustomed, to be continued and still observed here in this Church of England ; both that men should on those days abstain and forbear their pleasures, and the meats wherein they have more delight ; to the intent to subdue their bodies unto the soul and spirit ; unto the which to exhort and move men, is the office of a good and godly head and ruler : and also for worldly and civil policy certain days in the year to spare flesh, and use fish, for the benefit of the commonwealth, and profit of this his Majesty's realm : whereof many be fishers, and men using that trade of living unto the which this realm on every part environed with the seas, and so plentiful of fresh



waters, doth easily minister occasion ; to the great sustenance of this his Highness's people. So that hereby both the nourishment of the land might be increased by saving flesh, and specially at the spring time, when Lent doth commonly fall, and when the most common and plenteous breeding of flesh is. And also, divers of his loving subjects have good livings, and get great riches thereby, in uttering and selling such meats as the sea and fresh water doth minister unto us ; and this his Majesty's realm hath more plenty of ships, boats, crays, and other vessels, by reason of those which by hope of lucre do follow that trade of living.

Wherefore, his Majesty, having consideration, that where men of their own minds do not give themselves, so oft as they should do, to fasting, a common abstinence may and should be by the prince enjoined and commanded, and having an eye and mind to the profit and commodity of his realm and subjects, and to a common and civil policy, hath willed and commanded, and by these presents doth will and command, by the advice aforesaid, all manner of person and persons, of what estate, degree, or condition he or they be, (other than such as already be, or hereafter shall be excused by law, or licensed or authorized sufficiently to the contrary,) to observe and keep from henceforth such fasting days, and the time commonly called Lent, in abstaining from all manner of flesh, as heretofore in this realm hath been most commonly used and accustomed : upon pain that whosoever shall, upon any day heretofore wont to be fasted from flesh, and not by the King's Highness or his predecessors abrogate and taken away, eat flesh contrary to this proclamation, shall incur the King's high indignation, and shall suffer imprisonment, and be otherwise grievously punished, at his Majesty's will and pleasure.

And further the King's Highness, by the advice aforesaid, straitly chargeth and commandeth all mayors, bailiffs, and other head-officers and rulers of cities and towns, and all justices of peace in the shires where they be in commission, to be attendant and diligent to the execution of this proclamation ; in committing to prison the offenders contrary to the proclamation, upon sufficient proof thereof by two sufficient witnesses, before them had and made : there to remain during the King's pleasure, according to the true purport, effect, and meaning of the

same; as they tender the King's Majesty's will and pleasure, and will answer the contrary at their peril.

And where the late King of most famous memory, father to his Highness, hath given divers years license to his subjects in the time of Lent, to eat butter, cheese, and other meats, commonly called *white meats*, the King's Highness, by the advice aforesaid, considering the same to have been done not without great considerations, doth give likewise license and authority to all his loving subjects from henceforth freely for ever in the time of Lent, or other prohibited times by law or custom, to eat butter, eggs, cheese, and other white meats, any law, statute, act, or custom to the contrary notwithstanding.

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### XXX.

*A Proclamation against those that do innovate, alter, or leave undone any Rite or Ceremony in the Church, of their private authority; and against them which preach without license. Set forth the 6th day of February, in the second year of the King's Majesty's most gracious reign. [1548.]*

Burnet,  
Ref. vol. ii.  
App. b. i.  
No. 22.  
Ex reg.  
Craumer.  
fol. 111.  
Strype,  
Memorials,  
vol. ii.  
App. O.  
Wilkins,  
Concilia,  
vol. iv.  
p. 21.

THE King's Majesty, by the advice of his most entirely beloved uncle, the Duke of Somerset, Governor of his most royal person, and Protector of all his realms, dominions, and subjects, and others of his Council; considering nothing so much to tend to the disquieting of this realm, as diversity of opinions, and variety of rites and ceremonies concerning religion and worshipping of Almighty God; and therefore studying all the ways and means which can be to direct this Church, and the cure committed to his Highness, in one and most true doctrine, rite, and usage, yet is advertised, that certain private curates, preachers, and other laymen, contrary to their bounden duty of obedience, do rashly attempt, of their own and singular wit and mind, in some parish churches, and otherwise, not only to persuade the people from the old and accustomed rites and ceremonies, but also themselves bringeth in new orders every one in their church, according to their phantasies; the which, as it is an evident token of pride and arrogance, so it tendeth both to confusion and disorder, and also to the high displeasure of

Almighty God, who loveth nothing so much as order and obedience: Wherefore his Majesty straitly chargeth and commandeth, that no manner of person, of what estate, order, or degree soever he be, of his private mind, will, or phantasy, do omit, leave undone, change, alter, or innovate any order, rite, or ceremony commonly used and frequented in the Church of England, and not commanded to be left undone at any time in the reign of our late Sovereign Lord, his Highness's father, other than such as his Highness, by the advice aforesaid, by his Majesty's visitors, injunctions, statutes, or proclamations, hath already, or hereafter shall command to be omitted, left, innovated, or changed; but that they be observed after that sort as before they were accustomed, or else now sith prescribed by the authority of his Majesty, or by the means aforesaid, upon pain, that whosoever shall offend contrary to this proclamation, shall incur his Highness's indignation, and suffer imprisonment and other grievous punishment, at his Majesty's will and pleasure. Provided always, that for not bearing a candle upon Candlemas-day; not taking ashes upon Ash-Wednesday; not bearing palm upon Palm-Sunday; not creeping to the cross; not taking holy bread or holy water; or for omitting other such rites and ceremonies concerning religion and the use of the Church, which the most reverend Father in God, the Archbishop of Canterbury, by his Majesty's will and commandment, with the advice aforesaid, hath declared, or hereafter shall declare, to the other bishops<sup>z</sup>, by his writing under seal, as heretofore hath been accustomed, to be omitted or changed; no man hereafter be imprisoned, nor otherwise punished; but all such things to be reputed for the observation and following of the same, as though they were commanded by his Majesty's Injunctions. And to the intent that rash and seditious preachers should not abuse his Highness's people, it is his Majesty's pleasure, that whosoever shall take upon him to preach openly in any parish church, chapel, or any other open place, other than those which be licensed by the King's Majesty, or his Highness's visitors, the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the bishop of the diocese where he doth preach, except it be bishop, parson, vicar, dean, warden, or provost, in his or their own cure, shall be forthwith,

<sup>z</sup> [See Letter CCLXIX.]

upon such attempt and preaching, contrary to this Proclamation, be committed to prison, and there remain until such time as his Majesty, by the advice aforesaid, hath taken order for the further punishment of the same. And that the premises should be more speedily and diligently done and performed, his Highness giveth straitly in commandment to all justices of peace, mayors, sheriffs, constables, headboroughs, churchwardens, and all other his Majesty's officers and ministers, and rulers of towns, parishes, and hamlets, that they be diligent and attendant to the true and faithful execution of this proclamation, and every part thereof, according to the intent, purport, and effect of the same. And that they of their proceedings herein, or if any offender be, after they have committed the same to prison, do certify his Highness the Lord Protector, or his Majesty's Council, with all speed thereof accordingly, as they tender his Majesty's pleasure, the wealth of the realm, and will answer to the contrary at their uttermost perils.

God save the King.

### XXXI.

#### *Mandatum ad amovendas et delendas Imagines.*

Wilkins,  
*Concilia*,  
vol. iv.  
p. 22. from  
Craumer's  
Register,  
fol. 32. a.

THOMAS, permissione divina Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ Primas et Metropolitanus, per illustrissimum in Christo principem, et dominum nostrum dominum Edvardum Sextum Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Regem, Fidei Defensorem, et in terra Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hiberniæ Supremum Caput, sufficienter et legitime auctorizatus; venerabili confratri nostro domino Edmundo eadem permissione Londoniensi Episcopo, vestro vicario in spiritualibus generali et officiali principali, salutem et fraternam in Domino charitatem. Literas missivas clarissimorum et prudentissimorum dominorum de privato Consilio suæ Regiæ Majestatis manibus subscriptas, nobis inscriptas et directas nuper recepimus, tenorem subsequentem complectentes.

Foxe, *Acts*,  
&c. vol. ii.  
p. 658.

After our right hearty recommendations to your good Lordship, where now of late, in the King's Majesty's visitation, among other godly Injunctions commanded to be generally observed through all parts of this his Highness's realm, one was set forth for the taking down of all such images as had at any

time been abused with pilgrimages, offerings, or censings<sup>a</sup>: Heylyn, *Eccles. Restaur.* albeit that this said Injunction hath in many parts of the realm been well and quietly obeyed and executed, yet in many other places much strife and contention hath risen, and daily riseth, more and more increaseth about the execution of the same; some men being so superstitious, or rather wilful, as they would by their good wills retain all such images still, although they have been most manifestly abused; and in some places also the images, which by the said Injunctions were taken down, be now restored and set up again; and almost in every place is contention for images, whether they have been abused or not; and whiles these men go about on both sides contentiously to obtain their minds, contending whether this or that image hath been offered unto, kissed, censured, or otherwise abused, parties have in some places been taken, in such sort as further inconvenience is very like to ensue, if remedy be not provided in time: Considering therefore that almost in no places of this realm is any sure quietness, but where all images be wholly taken away and pulled down already; to the intent that all contention in every part of this realm for this matter may be clearly taken away, and that the lively images of Christ should not contend for the dead images, which be things not necessary, and without which the Churches of Christ continued most godly for many years: We have thought good to signify unto you, that his Highness's pleasure, with the advice and consent of us the Lord Protector and the rest of the Council, is, that immediately upon the sight hereof, with as convenient diligence as you may, you shall not only give order that all the images remaining in any church or chapel within your diocese be removed and taken away, but also by your letters signify unto the rest of the bishops within your province his Highness's pleasure for the like order to be given by them and every of them within their several dioceses: and in the execution thereof, we require both you and the rest of the bishops foresaid, to use such foresight as the same may be quietly done with as good satisfaction of the people as may be. Thus fare your good lordship well. From Somerset Place, the twenty-first of February, 1547. [1548.] Your lordship's assured friends, E. Somerset, Jo. Russell, Henricus Arundell, T. Seymour, Anthony Wyngefelde, William Pagett.

Quibus quidem literis pro nostro erga suam regiam Majesta-

<sup>a</sup> [See above, p. 329.]

tem officio, uti decet, obtemperare summopere cupientes, vestre fraternitati tenore præsentium committimus et Regiæ Majestatis vice et nomine, quibus in hac parte fungimur, mandamus, quatenus attento diligenter literarum hujuscemodi tenore, omnibus et singulis confratribus coepiscopis nostris, et Ecclesiæ nostræ Christi Cantuariensis suffraganeis, cum ea qua poteritis celeritate accommoda præcipiatis, ut ipsorum singuli in suis cathedralibus necnon civitatum et diocesum suarum parochialibus ecclesiis, exposito publice literarum hujuscemodi tenore, omnia et singula in literis præinsertis comprehensa, deducta et descripta quatenus eos concernunt, in omnibus et per omnia exequi et perimpleri sedulo et accurate curent, et fieri non postponant, sicque a vobis frater charissime in civitate et diocesi vestris London' per omnia fieri et perimpleri volumus et mandamus. Dat' in manerio nostro de Lambeth the vigesimo quarto die mensis Februarii, anno Domini, juxta computationem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, 1547. [1548.] et nostræ consecrationis anno decimo quinto.

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XXXII.

*Letter Missive from the Council to the Bishops of the Realm, concerning the Communion to be ministered in both Kinds.*

Foxe, *Acts*,  
&c. vol. ii.  
p. 659.  
Wilkins,  
*Concilia*,  
vol. iv.  
p. 31.

AFTER our most hearty commendations unto your Lordship. Where in the Parliament late holden at Westminster, it was, amongst other things, most godly established, that, according to the first institution and use of the primitive Church, the most holy sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ should be distributed to the people under the kinds of bread and wine: according to the effect whereof, the King's Majesty, minding, with the advice and consent of the Lord Protector's Grace, and the rest of the Council, to have the said statute well executed in such sort, or like as is agreeable with the word of God, (so the same may be also faithfully and reverently received of his most loving subjects, to their comforts and wealth,) hath caused sundry of his Majesty's most grave and well learned prelates, and other learned men in the Scripture, to assemble themselves for this matter; who, after long conference together, have with deliberate advice finally agreed upon such an order to be used in all places of the King's Majesty's dominions, in the distribution of the said most holy Sacrament,

as may appear to you by the book thereof, which we send herewith unto you ; albeit, knowing your lordship's knowledge in the Scriptures, and earnest good-will and zeal to the setting forth of all things according to the truth thereof, we be well assured you will of your own good-will, and upon respect to your duty, diligently set forth this most godly order here agreed upon, and commanded to be used by the authority of the King's Majesty ; yet remembering the crafty practice of the Devil, who ceases not, by his members, to work by all ways and means the hinderance of all godliness ; and considering furthermore that a great number of the curates of the realm, either for lack of knowledge cannot, or for want of good mind will not, be so ready to set forth the same as we would wish, and as the importance of the matter and their own bounden duty requires ; we have thought good to pray and require your lordship, and nevertheless in the King's Majesty, our most dread Lord's name, to command you, to have an earnest diligence and careful respect both in your own person and by all your officers and ministers ; also to cause these books to be delivered to every parson, vicar, and curate, within your diocese, with such diligence as they may have sufficient time well to instruct and advise themselves for the distribution of the most holy Communion according to the order of this book, before this Easter time ; and that they may by your good means be well directed to use such good, gentle, and charitable instruction of their simple and unlearned parishioners, as may be to all their good satisfactions as much as may be : praying you to consider, that this order is set forth to the intent there should be in all parts of this realm, and among all men, one uniform manner quietly used ; the execution whereof, like as it shall stand very much in the diligence of you and others of your vocation, so do we eftsoons require you to have a diligent respect thereunto, as ye tender the King's Majesty's pleasure, and will answer for the contrary. And thus we bid your lordship right heartily farewell. From Westm', the thirteenth of March, 1548.

Your lordship's loving friends,

Tho. Canterbury.

R. Rich.

Wil. Saint John.

Henry Arundell.

Anthony Wingfield.

William Petre.

Edward North.

Edward Wooton.

## XXXIII.

*A Letter sent to all those Preachers which the King's Majesty hath licensed to preach, from the Lord Protector's Grace, and other of the King's Majesty's most honourable Council; the 13th day of May, in the second year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord, King Edward the VIth. [1548.]*

Burnet,  
Ref. vol. ii.  
App. B. i.  
No. 24.  
Wilkins,  
Concilia,  
vol. iv. p.  
27.

AFTER our right hearty commendations: as well for the conservation of the quietness and good order of the King's Majesty's subjects, as that they should not, by evil and unlearned preachers, be brought unto superstition, error, or evil doctrine, or otherwise be made stubborn and disobedient to the King's Majesty's godly proceedings, his Highness, by our advice, hath thought good to inhibit all manner of preachers, who have not such license as in the same proclamation is allowed, to preach, or stir the people in open and common preaching of sermons, by any means, that the devout and godly Homilies might the better in the mean while sink into his subjects' hearts, and be learned the sooner, the people not being tossed to and fro with seditious and contentious preaching, while every man, according to his zeal, some better some worse, goeth about to set out his own phantasy, and to draw the people to his opinion. Nevertheless it is not his Majesty's mind hereby clearly to extinct the lively teaching of the word of God by sermons made after such sort, as for the time the Holy Ghost shall put into the preacher's mind, but that rash, contentious, hot, and indiscreet preachers should be stopped; and that they only which be chosen and elect, be discreet and sober men, should occupy that place, which was made for edification, and not for destruction; for the honour of God, and peace and quietness of conscience to be set forward, not for private glory to be advanced; to appease, to teach, to instruct the people with humility and patience, not to make them contentious and proud; to instil into them their duty to their heads and rulers, obedience to laws and orders, appointed by the superiors who have rule of God, not that every man should run, before their heads have appointed them what to do, and that every man should choose his own way in religion: the which thing yet being done of some men, and they being rather provoked thereto by certain preachers,



than dehorted from it, it was necessary to set a stay therein. And yet forasmuch as we have a great confidence and trust in you, that you will not only preach truly and sincerely the word of God, but also will use circumspection and moderation in your preaching, and such godly wisdom as shall be necessary and most convenient for the time and place, we have sent unto you the King's Majesty's license to preach ; but yet with this exhortation and admonishment, that in no wise you do stir and provoke the people to any alteration or innovation, other than is already set forth by the King's Majesty's Injunctions, Homilies, and Proclamations ; but contrarywise, that you do in all your sermons exhort men to that which is at this time more necessary ; that is, to the emendation of their own lives, to the observance of the commandments of God, to humility, patience, and obedience to their heads and rulers ; comforting the weak, and teaching them the right way, and to flee all old erroneous superstitions, as the confidence in pardons, pilgrimages, beads, religious images, and other such of the Bishop of Rome's traditions and superstitions, with his usurped power ; the which things be here in this realm most justly abolished : and straitly rebuking those, who of an arrogancy and proud hastiness will take upon them to run before they be sent, to go before the rulers, to alter and change things in religion without authority, teaching them to expect and tarry the time which God hath ordained to the revealing of all truth, and not to seek so long blindly and hidlings after it, till they bring all orders into contempt. It is not a private man's duty to alter ceremonies, to innovate orders in the Church ; nor yet it is not a preacher's part to bring that into contempt and hatred, which the prince doth either allow, or is content to suffer. The King's Highness, by our advice, as a prince most earnestly given to the true knowledge of God, and to bring up his people therein, doth not cease to labour and travail by all godly means that his realm might be brought and kept in a most godly and Christian order, who only may and ought to do it. Why should a private man, or a preacher, take this royal and kingly office upon him ; and not rather, as his duty is, obediently follow himself, and teach likewise others to follow and observe that which is commanded ? What is abolished, taken away, reformed, and commanded, it is easy to see by the Acts of Parliament, the Injunctions, Procla-

mations, and Homilies: the which things most earnestly it be-  
hoveth all preachers in their sermons to confirm and approve  
accordingly; in other things which be not yet touched, it be-  
hoveth him to think, that either the prince doth allow them, or  
else suffer them; and in those it is the part of a godly man,  
not to think himself wiser than the King's Majesty and his  
Council, but patiently to expect and to conform himself thereto,  
and not to intermeddle further to the disturbance of a realm,  
the disquieting of the King's people, the troubling of men's con-  
sciences, and disorder of the King's subjects.

These things we have thought good to admonish you of at  
this time, because we think you will set the same so forward in  
your preaching, and so instruct the King's Majesty's people ac-  
cordingly, to the most advancement of the glory of God, and  
the King's Majesty's most godly proceedings, that we do not  
doubt but much profit shall ensue thereby, and great conformity  
in the people, the which you do instruct; and so we pray you  
not to fail to do; and having a special regard to the weakness  
of the people what they may bear, and what is most convenient  
for the time, in no case to intermeddle in your sermons, or  
otherwise, with matters in contention or controversion, except  
it be to reduce the people in them also to obedience, and fol-  
lowing of such orders as the King's Majesty hath already set  
forth, and no others; as the King's Majesty's and our trust is in  
you, and as you tender his Highness's will and pleasure, and  
will answer to the contrary at your peril.

Fare you well.

Printed at London, June 1, 1548.

#### XXXIV.

*A Proclamation for the Inhibition of all Preachers; the second  
of Edward the VIth, Sept. 23.*

WHEREAS of late, by reason of certain controversious and  
seditious preachers, the King's Majesty, moved of tender zeal  
and love which he hath to the quiet of the subjects, by the ad-  
vice of the Lord Protector, and other his Highness's Council,  
hath by proclamation inhibited and commanded, that no man-  
ner of person, except such as was licensed by his Highness,  
the Lord Protector, or by the Archbishop of Canterbury,

Fuller,  
*Church  
Hist.* lib.  
vii.

Wilkins,  
*Concilia*,  
vol. iv. p.  
30.

should take upon him to preach in any open audience, upon pain in the said Proclamation contained, and that upon hope and assurance that those being chosen and elect men should preach and set forth only to the people such things, as should be to God's honour and the benefit of the King's Majesty's subjects: yet nevertheless his Highness is advertised, that certain of the said preachers so licensed, not regarding such good admonitions as have been by the Lord Protector and the rest of the Council on his Majesty's behalf by letters or otherwise given unto them, have abused the said authority of preaching, and behaved themselves irreverently, and without good order in the said preachings contrary to such good instructions and advertisements as were given unto them; whereby much contention and disorder might rise and ensue in this his Majesty's realm: wherefore his Highness, minding to see very shortly one uniform order throughout this his realm, and to put an end to all controversies in religion, so far as God should give grace, (for which cause at this time certain bishops, and notable learned men, by his Highness's commandment are congregate,) hath by the advice aforesaid thought good, although certain and many of the said preachers so before licensed, have behaved themselves very discreetly and wisely, and to the honour of God and to his Highness's contentation; yet at this present, and until such time as the said order shall be set forth generally throughout his Majesty's realm, to inhibit and by these presents do inhibit generally as well the said preachers so before licensed, as all manner of persons whosoever they be, to preach in open audience in the pulpit or otherwise, by any sought colour or fraud, to the disobeying of this commandment; to the intent that the whole clergy in this mean space might apply themselves to prayer to Almighty God for the better achieving of the same most godly intent and purpose, not doubting but that also his loving subjects in the mean time will occupy themselves to God's honour, with due prayer in the Church and patient hearing of the godly Homilies heretofore set forth by his Highness's Injunctions unto them; and so endeavour themselves that they may be the more ready, with thankful obedience, to receive a most quiet, godly, and uniform order to be had throughout all his said realms and dominions; and therefore hath willed all his loving officers and ministers, as well justices

of peace as mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, or any other his officers, of what estate, degree, or condition soever they be, to be attendant upon this Proclamation and commandment, and to see the infringers or breakers thereof to be imprisoned, and his Highness or the Lord Protector's Grace, or his Majesty's Council to be certified thereof immediately, as they tender his Majesty's pleasure, and will answer to the contrary at their peril.

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XXXV.

*Of Unwritten Verities<sup>b</sup>.*

IN the day of Pentecost, when the Holy Ghost descended upon the Apostles and Disciples of Christ, they received such grace and ghostly knowledge, that they had forthwith the gift of the understanding of Scripture, to speak in the tongues of all men: and also that upon whomsoever they laid their hands, the Holy Ghost should descend upon them. And thereupon they by their preaching and good doctrine converted in short time great multitudes of people unto the faith of Christ. And after that, divers blessed men, in strength of the faith, wrote the life, miracles, doctrine, passion, death, and resurrection of our master Christ: but four of those writings were only received by all the whole Church of Christ, that is to say, of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. And they received them to be of such authority, that it should not be lawful to any man that would confess Christ, to deny them. And they were called *The four Gospels of Christ*. And the Epistles of Paul, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles that be called Canonic, and the Apocalypse, were received to be of like authority as the Gospels were. And thus by assent as well of the people as of the clergy, was the New Testament affirmed to be of such authority as it is now taken to be of, and as it is of indeed. So that it is not lawful to deny any thing that it affirmeth, ne to affirm any thing that it denieth. And it is no marvel though it be taken to be of such strength. For it was authorized, when the people that were newly converted to the faith were full of grace and of devotion, replenished with virtues, desiring alway the life to come, and the health of their own souls and of their neighbours.

[<sup>b</sup> See note, p. 144, and Preface.]

Then also were blessed bishops, blessed priests, and other blessed persons of the clergy. And what could such men ask of God right wisely, that should be denied them? And who may think but that they and all the people at the said authorizing of the Scripture, prayed devoutly for the assistance of the Holy Ghost, that they might have grace to authorize such as should be to his honour, to the increase of his faith, and to the health of the souls of all his people?

The *time* also that this authorizing of the New Testament, and the gathering it together was made, was, as I suppose, the time of the most high and gracious shedding out of the mercy of God into the world, that ever was from the beginning of the world unto this day: and I mean the time that was from the incarnation of Christ unto the said authorizing of the New Testament was accomplished. For in part of that time our Lord was here himself in bodily presence, preaching and teaching his laws, gathering and choosing his Apostles and Disciples, that should teach and preach his laws, when he was gone: which they did not only by word, but also by good examples, that yet remain unto this day. So that all that time may in manner be called *the golden time*. And not only the New Testament was then received, but also the Old Testament. And by preaching and teaching of these Testaments was the faith of Christ marvellously increased in many countries.

After all this, by a common speaking among the people, the bishops, priests, and other of the clergy, which were as lanterns unto the people, and the special maintainers of the Christian faith, were called *The Church*, or men of the Church: and under the colour of that name *Church*, many of the clergy in process of time pretended that they might make expositions of Scripture, as the universal Church of Christ, that is to say, as the whole congregation of Christian people might. And thereupon when covetyse and pride somewhat increased in many of the clergy, they expounded very favourably divers texts of Scripture, that sounded to the maintenance of their honour, power, jurisdiction, and riches; and over that take upon them to affirm that they were the *Church* that might not err: and that Christ and his Apostles had spoken and taught many things that were not expressly in Scripture, and that the people were as well bound to love them, and that under like pain, as if they

had been expressed in Scripture, and called them *Unwritten Verities*. Whereof I shall, as for an example, recite part.

First, That Christ after his Maundy, and after he had washen the feet of his Apostles, taught them to make holy cream, for ministration of the sacraments: and that they have as full authority to do the same, as if it had been contained in Scripture, that Christ had given them power to do it.

That it is a tradition of the Apostles that *images* ought to be set up.

That the Apostles ordained that all faithful people should resort to the Church of Rome, as to the most high and principal Church of all other: and yet it cannot be proved by Scripture, ne by any other sufficient authority, that they made any such ordinance.

Also, that the *Creed*, which is commonly and universally used to be said by the common people, was made by the twelve Apostles: and though the articles thereof are firmly and steadfastly to be believed of every Christian man, as articles sufficiently proved by Scripture; yet that they were gathered together by the twelve Apostles, and specially that every one of the Apostles made one article, as painters show that they did, cannot be proved by Scripture, ne is it not necessary to be believed for our salvation. And though it were but a small offence in the people to believe that it were an article necessary to be believed for our salvation, because the clergy, which be the lanterns and leaders unto the people, do instruct them that it is so; and it is neither against the law of God nor the law of reason but that it may be so; yet it is a great offence to the clergy to affirm for certain the thing that is to themselves uncertain; and therefore it would be reformed for eschewing of offences unto the clergy.

Also, that the people shall pray into the East is not proved by Scripture. And yet they say, that by the tradition of the Apostles it is to be believed.

Also, that our Lady was not born in original sin.

That she was assumpt into heaven, body and soul.

All these, and many others, divers of the clergy call *Unwritten Verities*, left in the world by the tradition and relation of the Apostles, which, as they say, the people are bound to believe as well as Scripture; for they say, that sith no man were bound

to believe Scripture, but because the Church saith, This is Scripture; so they say, that in the things before rehearsed, the Church witnesseth them to be true; and that the people have assented to them many years; wherefore it is not lawful to doubt at them, ne to deny them. To this reason it may be answered, that if it can be proved by as good and as high authority, that these things were left in the world by the tradition and relation of the Apostles, as the authorizing of Scripture was, that then they are to be believed as verily as Scripture: but if they be witnessed to be so by some bishops and priests, and some other of the clergy only, or that they be witnessed to be so by decrees and laws made by Bishops of Rome, and by the clergy of Rome, or by opinion of doctors only; then no man is bound to accept them, ne believe them, as they are bound to believe Scripture. For Scripture, as it is said before, was authorized by the whole Church of God, and in the most elect and most gracious time that of likelihood hath been sith the beginning of Christ's Church. And if it be said that many of the said opinions have been affirmed and approved by General Councils, in whom no error may be presumed, it may be answered, that though the Church gathered together in the Holy Ghost may not err in things pertaining to the faith, that yet forasmuch as some General Councils have been gathered, and not by the power of kings and princes that be heads of the Church, and that laws have been also made at such General Councils, of divers things which have not pertained to the faith, but to the maintenance of the authority or profit of the clergy, or of such articles as are before rehearsed, that they call *Unwritten Verities*, which undoubtedly pertain not merely to the faith, that it may therefore be lawfully doubted whether such Councils were gathered in the Holy Ghost or not; and whether they erred in their judgments or not. And it is no doubt but that in some General Councils they have done so indeed.

And I suppose that there be but few matters more necessary ne more expedient for kings and princes to look upon, than upon these *Unwritten Verities*, and of making of laws by the clergy. For if they be suffered to maintain that there be any Verities which the people are bound to believe, upon pain of damnation, beside Scripture, it will persuade partly an insufficiency in Scripture; and thereupon might follow great dangers many ways. And if it were admitted that the clergy might be

received to affirm that there be such Verities beside Scripture, yet they could not prove them. For if they would in proof thereof say, that the Apostles first taught those Verities, and that they have so continued from one to another unto this day, and show none other authority thereof but that; then all the saying may as lightly be denied as it was affirmed, and with as high authority. And if they will further attempt to approve it by laws made by the Bishops of Rome, and by the clergy at Rome, yea or by laws and decrees made at General Councils; yet these laws and decrees may be lawfully doubted at, as before appeareth. So that they cannot by reason thereof drive any necessity of belief into any person.

Wherefore kings and princes, that have received of God the high power and charge over the people, are bound to prohibit such sayings upon great pains; and not to suffer a belief to be grounded upon things uncertain.

But yet if some of the said articles that be called *Unwritten Verities*, were suffered to continue as things that be more like to be true than otherwise, and no necessity of belief to be derived thereupon, I suppose verily it might well be suffered that they should stand still, not prohibit: as it is of that article, that the twelve Apostles made the Creed: that it is good to pray into the East: that our Lady was not born in original sin: that she was assumed body and soul. And therefore if it were ordained by kings and princes that no man, upon pain to be taken as a breaker of the quietness of the people, should deny any of the said articles, it were well done to keep unity among the people. But divers realms may order such things diversely, as they shall seem convenient, after the disposition of the people there. For they be but things indifferent to be believed, or not believed, and are nothing like to Scripture, to the Articles of the Faith, the Ten Commandments, ne to such other moral learnings, as are merely derived out of Scripture. For they must of necessity be believed and obeyed of every Christian man. For, after Saint Paul *Ad Ephes.* iv, there must be *one God, one faith, and one baptism*. But to suffer them to stand as *Unwritten Verities* that may not be denied, and to have their authority only by laws made by the clergy, it seemeth dangerous. For it might cause many of the clergy to esteem more power in the clergy than there is indeed. And that might lift many of them into a higher estimation of themselves



than they ought to have. Whereby might follow great danger unto the people. For as long as there be disorders in the clergy, it will be hard to bring the people to good order.

And all this that I have touched before may be reformed, without any rebuke to the clergy that now is. For the pretence of such Unwritten Verities, ne yet of making of laws, to bind kings and princes and their people, ne yet that both powers, that is to say, spiritual and temporal, were in the clergy, began not in the clergy that now is, but in their predecessors.

And as to the said other pretended Unwritten Verities, that is to say, that all men should resort to Rome, as to the most high and principal Church; and that it is a tradition and Unwritten Verity that images ought to be set up; it were well done that they and such other opinions, whereby pride, coveytise, or vain glory might spring hereafter, were prohibit by authority of the parliament upon great pains. And as to the said Unwritten Verity, that holy cream should be made after the Maundy, it pertaineth only to them that have authority, to judge whether it be an Unwritten Verity or not, and to judge also, what is the very authority of making of that cream. And therefore I will no further speak of that matter at this time.

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### XXXVI.

- <sup>c</sup> 1. *Preface to the Book of Common Prayer, 1549.* 2. *Of Ceremonies.* 3. *Preface to the Ordination Services, 1550.*

#### 1. Preface to the Book of Common Prayer.

THERE was never any thing by the wit of man so well devised, or so surely established, which (in continuance of time) hath not been corrupted; as (among other things) it may plainly appear by the common prayers in the Church, commonly called Divine Service; the first original and ground whereof, if a man would search out by the ancient Fathers, he shall find that the same was not ordained, but of a good pur-

<sup>c</sup> [Nos. 1 and 3 have been placed by Bale on the list of Cranmer's works, but, as it seems, without sufficient grounds. See Preface. But together with No. 2, which was printed at the end of the Prayer Book of 1549, they were probably written under his direction, and undoubtedly received his sanction.]

pose, and for a great advancement of godliness. For they so ordered the matter, that all the whole Bible (or the greatest part thereof) should be read over once in the year, intending thereby, that the clergy, and specially such as were ministers of the congregation, should (by often reading and meditation of God's word) be stirred up to godliness themselves, and be more able also to exhort others by wholesome doctrine, and to confute them that were adversaries to the truth. And further, that the people, by daily hearing of holy Scripture read in the church, should continually profit more and more in the knowledge of God, and be the more inflamed with the love of his true religion. But these many years past, this godly and decent order of the ancient Fathers hath been so altered, broken, and neglected, by planting in uncertain stories, legends, responds, verses, vain repetitions, commemorations, and synodals, that commonly when any book of the Bible was begun, before three or four chapters were read out, all the rest were unread. And in this sort, the book of Esaie was begun in Advent, and the book of Genesis in Septuagesima; but they were only begun, and never read through: after a like sort were other books of holy Scripture used. And moreover, whereas St. Paul would have such language spoken to the people in the Church, as they might understand and have profit by hearing the same; the service in this Church of England, these many years, hath been read in Latin to the people, which they understood not; so that they have heard with their ears only, and their hearts, spirit, and mind have not been edified thereby. And furthermore, notwithstanding that the ancient Fathers had divided the Psalms into seven portions, whereof every one was called a nocturn; now of late time a few of them have been daily said, and oft repeated, and the rest utterly omitted. Moreover, the number and hardness of the rules called the pie, and the manifold changings of the service, was the cause, that to turn the book only, was so hard and intricate a matter, that many times there was more business to find out what should be read, than to read it when it was found out.

These inconveniences therefore considered, here is set forth such an order, whereby the same shall be redressed. And for a readiness in this matter, here is drawn out a Calendar for that purpose, which is plain and easy to be understood; wherein (so

much as may be) the reading of holy Scripture is so set forth, that all things shall be done in order, without breaking one piece thereof from another. For this cause be cut off anthems, responds, invitatories, and such like things, as did break the continual course of the reading of the Scripture. Yet because there is no remedy, but that of necessity there must be some rules, therefore certain rules are here set forth; which, as they be few in number, so they be plain and easy to be understood. So that here you have an order for prayer (as touching the reading of holy Scripture) much agreeable to the mind and purpose of the old Fathers, and a great deal more profitable and commodious than that which of late was used. It is more profitable, because here are left out many things, whereof some be untrue, some uncertain, some vain and superstitious; and is ordained nothing to be read but the very pure word of God, the holy Scriptures, or that which is evidently grounded upon the same; and that in such a language and order as is most easy and plain for the understanding both of the readers and hearers. It is also more commodious, both for the shortness thereof and for the plainness of the order, and for that the rules be few and easy. Furthermore, by this order the curates shall need none other books for their public service, but this book and the Bible; by the means whereof the people shall not be at so great charge for books as in time past they have been.

And where heretofore there hath been great diversity in saying and singing in churches within this realm; some following Salisbury use, some Hereford use, some the use of Bangor, some of York, and some of Lincoln; now from henceforth all the whole realm shall have but one use. And if any would judge this way more painful, because that all things must be read upon the book, whereas before, by the reason of so often repetition, they could say many things by heart; if those men will weigh their labour with the profit in knowledge which daily they shall obtain by reading upon the book, they will not refuse the pain, in consideration of the great profit that shall ensue thereof.

And forsomuch as nothing can, almost, be so plainly set forth, but doubts may rise in the use and practising of the same: to appease all such diversity, (if any arise,) and for the resolution of all doubts concerning the manner how to understand, do, and

execute the things contained in this book : the parties that so doubt, or diversely take anything, shall alway resort to the bishop of the diocese, who by his discretion shall take order for the quieting and appeasing of the same ; so that the same order be not contrary to any thing contained in this book.

Though it be appointed in the afore written Preface that all things shall be read and sung in the church in the English tongue, to the end that the congregation may be thereby edified ; yet it is not meant but when men say matins and evensong privately, they may say the same in any language that they themselves do understand. Neither that any man shall be bound to the saying of them, but such as from time to time, in cathedral and collegiate churches, parish churches, and chapels to the same annexed, shall serve the congregation.

## 2. Of Ceremonies.

Why some be abolished and some retained.

Of such Ceremonies as be used in the Church, and have had their beginning by the institution of man ; some at the first were of godly intent and purpose devised, and yet at length turned to vanity and superstition ; some entered into the Church by indiscreet devotion, and such a zeal as was without knowledge : and forbecause they were winked at in the beginning, they grew daily to more and more abuses, which not only for their unprofitableness, but also because they have much blinded the people and obscured the glory of God, are worthy to be cut away and clean rejected. Other there be, which although they have been devised by man, yet it is thought good to reserve them still, as well for a decent order in the Church, (for the which they were first devised,) as because they pertain to edification : whereunto all things done in the Church, (as the Apostle teacheth,) ought to be referred. And although the keeping or omitting of a ceremony, in itself considered, is but a small thing ; yet the wilful and contemptuous transgression and breaking of a common order and discipline is no small offence before God. *Let all things be done among you, saith St. Paul, in a seemly and due order.* The appointment of the which order pertaineth not to private men ; therefore no man ought to take in hand, nor presume to appoint or alter any public or

common order in Christ's Church, except he be lawfully called and authorized thereunto. And whereas in this our time the minds of men be so diverse, that some think it a great matter of conscience to depart from a piece of the least of their Ceremonies, they be so addicted to their old customs: and again on the other side, some be so new fangle that they would innovate all things, and so do despise the old that nothing can like them, but that is new: it was thought expedient not so much to have respect how to please and satisfy either of these parties, as how to please God and profit them both. And yet lest any man should be offended, whom good reason might satisfy, here be certain causes rendered why some of the accustomed Ceremonies be put away, and some be retained and kept still.

Some are put away because the great excess and multitude of them hath so increased in these latter days, that the burden of them was intolerable: whereof Saint Augustine in his time complained that they were grown to such a number, that the state of Christian people was in worse case (concerning that matter) than were the Jews. And he counselled that such yoke and burden should be taken away, as time would serve quietly to do it. But what would St. Augustine have said, if he had seen the Ceremonies of late days used among us, whereunto the multitude used in his time was not to be compared? This our excessive multitude of Ceremonies was so great, and many of them so dark, that they did more confound and darken, than declare and set forth Christ's benefits unto us. And besides this, Christ's gospel is not a ceremonial law, (as much of Moses's law was,) but it is a religion to serve God, not in bondage of the figure or shadow, but in the freedom of spirit, being content only with those ceremonies which do serve to a decent order and godly discipline, and such as be apt to stir up the dull mind of man to the remembrance of his duty to God, by some notable and special signification, whereby he might be edified.

Furthermore, the most weighty cause of the abolishment of certain Ceremonies was, that they were so far abused, partly by the superstitious blindness of the rude and unlearned, and partly by the insatiable avarice of such as sought more their own lucre than the glory of God, that the abuses could not well be taken away, the thing remaining still. But now as concern-

ing those persons which peradventure will be offended for that some of the old Ceremonies are retained still ; if they consider that without some Ceremonies it is not possible to keep any order or quiet discipline in the Church, they shall easily perceive just cause to reform their judgments. And if they think much that any of the old do remain, and would rather have all devised anew, then such men, (granting some Ceremonies convenient to be had,) surely where the old may be well used, there they cannot reasonably reprove the old (only for their age) without bewraying of their own folly. For in such a case they ought rather to have reverence unto them for their antiquity, if they will declare themselves to be more studious of unity and concord than of innovations and new fangleness ; which (as much as may be with the true setting forth of Christ's religion) is always to be eschewed. Furthermore, such shall have no just cause with the Ceremonies reserved to be offended ; for as those be taken away which were most abused, and did burden men's consciences without any cause : so the other that remain are retained for a discipline and order, which (upon just causes) may be altered and changed, and therefore are not to be esteemed equal with God's law. And moreover they be neither dark nor dumb Ceremonies, but are so set forth that every man may understand what they do mean, and to what use they do serve. So that it is not like that they, in time to come, should be abused as the other have been. And in these all our doings we condemn no other nations, nor prescribe any thing, but to our own people only. For we think it convenient that every country should use such Ceremonies as they shall think best to the setting forth of God's honour and glory, and to the reducing of the people to a most perfect and godly living, without error or superstition : and that they should put away other things, which from time to time they perceive to be most abused, as in men's ordinances it often chanceth diversely in diverse countries.

3. Preface to "The Form and Manner of making and consecrating of Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons."  
Printed by Grafton, March 1549-50.

It is evident unto all men diligently reading holy Scripture and ancient authors, that from the Apostles' time there hath been these orders of Ministers in Christ's Church, Bishops, Priests,

and Deacons : which offices were evermore had in such reverent estimation, that no man, by his own private authority, might presume to execute any of them, except he were first called, tried, examined, and known to have such qualities as were requisite for the same ; and also by public prayer, with imposition of hands, approved and admitted thereunto. And therefore, to the intent these orders should be continued, and reverently used and esteemed in this Church of England, it is requisite that no man (not being at this present Bishop, Priest, nor Deacon) shall execute any of them, except he be called, tried, examined, and admitted, according to the form hereafter following. And none shall be admitted a Deacon, except he be **xxi** years of age at the least. And every man which is to be admitted a Priest, shall be full **xxiiii** years old. And every man which is to be consecrated a Bishop, shall be fully thirty years of age. And the Bishop knowing either by himself or by sufficient testimony, any person to be a man of virtuous conversation and without crime, and after examination and trial finding him learned in the Latin tongue, and sufficiently instructed in holy Scripture, may upon a Sunday or holy day, in the face of the Church, admit him a Deacon, in such manner and form as hereafter followeth.

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### XXXVII.

*Three Letters from the Lords of the Council at Windsor to the Lords of the Council in London*<sup>d</sup>.

#### 1.

My Lords, we commend us most heartily unto you : and where Stow, the King's Majesty was informed that you were assembled in such sort as ye do now remain there, was advised by us, and such other of his Council as were here about his person, to send Master Secretary Peter unto you with such a message, as whereby might have ensued the surety of his Majesty's person, with pre-

<sup>d</sup> [For the circumstances under which these Letters were written, and for the remainder of the correspondence, see Burnet, *Ref.* vol. ii. App. b. i. No. 41, &c ; Stow, *Annals* ; Ellis, *Original Letters*, 1st ser. clxxii, &c. The second of them has been attributed wholly to the pen of Cranmer by Mr. Turner and Mr. Todd, who affirm that "it breathes all his spirit in its genuine nature." Strype also seems to have been of the same opinion. See Turner, *Modern Hist. of England*, vol. iii. p. 286 ; Todd, *Life of Cranmer*, vol. ii. p. 157 ; Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 193.]

servation of his realm and subjects, and the quiet both of us and yourselves, as Master Secretary can well declare unto you : his Majesty and we of his Council here do not a little marvel that you stay still with you the said Master Secretary ; and have not, as it were, vouchsafed to send an answer to his Majesty, neither by him, nor yet by any other. And for ourselves we do much more marvel, and are right sorry, as we and you have good cause to be, to see the manner of your doings, bent with force and violence to bring the King's Majesty and us to those extremities, which as we do intend, if you will take none other way but violence, to defend us, as nature and our allegiance doth bind us, to extremity of death, and put it unto God's hands, who giveth victory as pleaseth him. So if our reasonable conditions and offers will take no place, as hitherto none hath been signified unto us from you, nor we do not understand what ye do require or seek, nor what ye do mean ; and that ye speak no hurt of the King's Majesty's person : as touching all other private matters to avoid the effusion of Christian blood, and to preserve the King's Majesty's person, his realm, and subjects, ye shall find us agreeable to any reasonable conditions that you will require ; for we do esteem the King's wealth and tranquillity of the realm more than all other worldly things, yea more than our own lives. Thus praying you to send us determinate answer herein by Master Secretary Peter, or, if ye will not let him go, by this bearer, we beseech God to give both you and us grace to determine this matter, as may be to God's honour, the preservation of the King, and the quiet of us all ; which may be, if the fault be not in you. And so we bid you heartily farewell. From the King's Majesty's Castle of Windsor, the 7th day of October, 1549.

## 2.

Stow,  
*Annals*.  
p. 1009. ed.  
1592.  
Todd, *Life*  
*of Cran-*  
*mer*, vol. ii.  
p. 157.

After our hearty commendations unto your good Lordships : we have received from the same a letter by Master Hunnings, dated at London yesterday ; whereby you do us to understand the causes of your assembly there ; and, charging the Lord Protector with the manner of government, require that he withdraw himself from the King's Majesty, disperse the force which he hath levied, and be contented to be ordered according to justice and reason ; and so you will gladly commune with us,



as touching the surety of the King's Majesty's person, and the order of all other things, with such conformity on that behalf as appertaineth; and otherwise you must, as you write, make other account of us than you trust to have cause, and burden us, if things come to extremities.

To the first point we verily believe, that as bruits, rumours, and reports that your Lordships intended the destruction of the Lord Protector induced his Grace to fly to the defence which he hath assembled, excuse your Lordships, hearing that his Grace intended the like destruction towards you, have been moved to do as you have done; so as, for lack of understanding one of another's right meaning, things be grown to such extremities, as if the saving of the King's Majesty's person and the common weal take not more place in his Grace and your Lordships than private respect or affairs, you see we doubt not, as we do, that both our King, our country, and also ourselves shall, as verily as God is God, be utterly destroyed and cast away. Wherefore, might it please you, for the tender compassion of Jesus Christ, use your wisdom, and temper your determination in such sort, as no blood be shed, nor cruelty used, neither of his Grace's part nor of your Lordships': for, if it come to that point, both you and we are like to see presently with our eyes that which every vein of all our hearts will bleed to behold.

Wherefore, as true subjects to the King's Majesty, as faithful counsellors, though unworthy counsellors, to his Majesty and his realm, and as lamentable petitioners, we beseech your Lordships most humbly, and from the bottom of our hearts, to take pity of the King and the realm, whereof you be principal members, and to set apart *summum jus*, and to use at this time *tum bonum et æquum*; and think not that this is written for any private fear or other respect of ourselves, but for that undoubtedly we hear and know more of this point, with your favours, than you there do know; yea, and howsoever it shall please you to account of us, we are true men to God, to the King, to the realm, and so will we live and die wheresoever we be; and in respect of them three esteem little any other person or thing, no not our own lives: and having clear consciences, as some whatsoever ill may follow, upon the use of extremity there, that neither now is nor shall be found fault in us; and so quieting ourselves we rest.

Now to that you would have the Lord Protector to do for

his part, his Grace and we have communed herein ; and much to our comforts, and yours also, if it shall like you to weigh the case ; who is contented, if you will again for your parts use equity, to put that now in execution which many times he hath declared by his words ; that is to say, so as the King and the realm may be otherwise well served, he passeth little for the place he now hath. Mary, he doth consider, that by the King's Majesty, with all your advices, and the consents of the nobles of the realm, he was called to the place, (as appeareth in writing under his Majesty's great seal and sign ; whereunto your own hands also, and ours, with all others the Lords of the Upper House in the Parliament are subscribed :) and therefore in violent sort to be thus thrust out against his will, he thinketh it not reasonable. He is here with the King's person, where his place is to be ; and we be here with him, we trust in God for the good service of the King, the weal of the realm, and the good acquitting both of his Grace and of your Lordships ; which we most heartily desire and see such hope here thereof, as, if you be not too sore bent upon the extremities, as is reported, and as equity can take no place, my Lord's Grace may live in quiet, and the King's Majesty's affairs maintained in such order as by his Majesty's counsellors shall be thought convenient.

Mary, to put himself simply into your hands, having heard as both we and he have, without first knowledge upon what conditions, it is not reasonable. Life is sweet, my Lords, and they say you seek his blood and his death ; which if you do, and may have him otherwise conformable to reason, and by extremity drive him to seek extremity again, the blood of him and others that shall die on both sides innocently, shall be by God justly required at your hands. And when peradventure you would have him again, upon occasion of service, you shall forthink to have lost him. Wherefore, good my Lords, we beseech you again and again, if you have conceived any such determination, to put it out of your heads, and incline your hearts to kindness and humanity, remembering that he hath never been cruel to any of you, and why should you be cruel to him ; as we trust you be not, whatsoever hath been said, but will show yourselves as conformable for your parts, as his Grace is contented, for the zeal he beareth to the King and the realm, to be for his part, as this bearer, Sir Phillip Hobie, will declare unto you ; to whom we pray you to give credit, and to return him hither again with

answer hereof. And thus, beseeching the living God to direct your hearts to the making of a quiet end of these terrible tumults, we bid your Lordships most heartily well to fare. From the King's Majesty's Castle of Windsor, the eight of October, 1549.

## 3.

It may like your good Lordships, with our most hearty commendations, to understand, that this morning Sir Phillip Hobbey hath, according to the charge given to him by your Lordships, presented your letters to the King's Majesty, in the presence of us and all the rest of his Majesty's good servants here, which was there read openly, and also the others to them of the chamber and of the household, much to their comforts, and ours also; and, according to the tenours of the same, we will not fail to endeavour ourselves accordingly. . . .

Ellis, *Original Letters*, 1st series, CLXXII. from Cotton MSS. Calig. B. vii. f. 412. Burnet, *Ref.* vol. ii. App. b. i. No. 45.

Now touching the marvel of your Lordships, both of that we would suffer the Duke of Somerset's men to guard the King's Majesty's person, and also of our often repeating the word cruel . . . although we doubt not but that your Lordships hath been thoroughly informed of our estates here, and upon what occasion the one hath been suffered, and the other proceeded; yet at our convening together, (which may be when and where please you,) we will, and are able to make your Lordships such an account, as wherewith we doubt not you will be satisfied, if you think good to require it of us. And for bycause this bearer, Mr. Hobbey, can particularly inform your Lordships of the whole discourse of all things here, we remit the report of all other things to him, saving that we desire to be advertised, with as much speed as you shall think good, whether the King's Majesty shall come forthwith thither, or remain still here; and that some of your Lordships would take pain to come hither forthwith. For the which purpose, I the comptroller will cause three of the best chambers in the great court to be hanged and made ready. Thus, thanking God that all things be so well acquieted, we commit your Lordships to his tuition. From Wyndsor, the xth of October, 1549.

Your Lordships' assured loving friends,

T. Cant. William Paget. T. Smith.

To our very good Lords and others  
of the King's Majesty's Privy  
Council at London.

## XXXVIII.

*The King's Order, and the Mandate of the Archbishop of Canterbury, for bringing in Popish Rituals.*

Wilkins,  
*Concilia*,  
vol. iv. p. 37.  
from  
Craun.  
Regist. fol.  
56. b.

THOMAS, permissione divina Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ Primas et Metropolitanus, per illustrissimum et invictissimum in Christo principem et dominum nostrum, dominum Edvardum Sextum, Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, Hiiberniæ Regem, &c. ad infrascripta sufficienter et legitime fulcitus, dilecto filio Archidiacono nostro Cantuariensi seu ejus officiali, salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem. Literas missivas dicti metuendissimi domini nostri Regis signatas, et nominibus honorabilium virorum dominorum consiliariorum suorum in calce earundem subscriptas, signeto suo obsignatas, nobis inscriptas et datas, nuper cum honore et reverentia debitis accepimus, tenorem subsequentem complectentes<sup>e</sup>.

By the King. Right reverend Father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas the book entitled, "The Book of Common Prayers and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, after the use of the Church of England," was agreed upon and set forth by Act of Parliament, and by the same Act commanded to be used of all persons within this our realm; yet nevertheless we are informed, that divers unquiet and evil-disposed persons, sithence the apprehension of the Duke of Somerset, have noised and bruited abroad that they should have again their old Latin service, their conjured bread and water, with such like vain and superstitious ceremonies, as though the setting forth of the said book had been the only act of the said Duke: we therefore, by the advice of the body and state of our Privy Council, not only considering the said book to be our own act, and the act of the whole state of our realm, assembled together in Parliament, but also the same to be grounded upon holy Scripture, agreeable to the order of the primitive Church, and much to the reedifying of our subjects, to put away all such vain expectation of having the public service, the administration of the sacraments, and other rights and ceremonies again in the Latin tongue; which were but a preferment of ignorance to knowledge, and darkness

<sup>e</sup> [See Burnet, *Ref.* vol. ii. App. b. i. N°. 47; Strype, *Memorials*, vol. ii. pp. 211—213.]

to light, and a preparation to bring in papistry and superstition again, have thought good, by the advice of the aforesaid, to require and nevertheless straitly to charge and command you, that, immediately upon the sight hereof, you do command the dean and prebendaries of the cathedral church, the parson, vicar, or curate, and churchwardens of every parish within your diocese to bring and deliver unto you or your deputy, any of them for their church and parish, at such convenient place as you shall appoint, all antiphoners, missals, grayles, processions, manuals, legends, pies, portasies, journals, and ordinals, after the use of Sarum, Lincoln, York, or any other private use; and all other books of service, the keeping whereof should be a let to the usage of the said Book of Common Prayers: and that you take the same books into your hands, or into the hands of your deputy, and them so deface and abolish, that they never after may serve either to any such use as they were provided for, or be at any time a let to that godly and uniform order which by a common consent is now set forth. And if you shall find any persons stubborn or disobedient, in not bringing in the said books, according to the tenour of these our letters, that then ye commit the said person to ward, unto such time as you have certified us of his misbehaviour. And we will and command you, that you also search, or cause search to be made, from time to time, whether any book be withdrawn or hid, contrary to the tenour of these our letters; and the same book to receive into your hands, and to use as in these our letters we have appointed.

And furthermore, whereas it is come to our knowledge that divers froward and obstinate persons do refuse to pay towards the finding of bread and wine for the holy communion, according to the order prescribed by the said book, by reason whereof the holy communion is many times omitted upon the Sunday; these are to will and command you to convent such obstinate persons before you, and them to admonish and command to keep the order prescribed in the said book; and if any shall refuse so to do, to punish them by suspension, excommunication, or other censures of the Church. Fail you not thus to do, as you will avoid our displeasure. Given under our signet, at our palace of Westminster, the 25th of December, the third year of our reign. By the King. Inscriptio hæc est. To the most re-

verend Father in God, our right trusty and well-beloved counsellor, the Archbishop of Canterbury. In calce hæc nomina habentur, Thomas Cantuarien', R. Ryche, Canc', Wm. Seint John, J. Russell, H. Dorsett, W. Northampton.

Nos vero affectantes ex animo domini nostri Regis literis et mandatis obtemperare, volentesque pro nostro erga Regiam celsitudinem officio in demandatis negotiis omnem nostram curam et solertem adhibere diligentiam, vobis pro parte suæ Majestatis districtè præcipiendo mandamus harum serie, quatenus receptis præsentibus, cum omni qua poteritis celeritate et diligentia maturis, dilectos filios nostros decanum, canonicos, et præbendarios Ecclesiæ Christi Cantuarien', necnon rectores, vicarios, curatos, plebanos, ac syndicos et iconicos<sup>f</sup> quarumcunque ecclesiarum parochialium nostræ dioceseos Cantuarien' moneatis, hortemini, et præcipiendo mandetis, quatenus ipsi et eorum quilibet vel singuli, omnes et singulos libros in eisdem literis Regiis specificè nominatos, nobis aut nostro in hac parte commissario vel deputato infra palatium nostrum Cantuarien', infra novem dies monitionem et intimationem vestras eis fiendas proxime sequentes, realiter afferant, adducant, et penes nos vel nostrum deputatum hujuscemodi relinquant et deponant, cæteraque omnia et singula in dictis literis descripta perimpleant, exequantur, et sedulo fieri curent, quatenus eos et eorum quemlibet contingunt vel concernunt, sicque vos et vestrum alter sedulo exequatur, sincere perimpleat, et diligenter obediat, quæ ad vestram in hac parte functionem pro congrua executione literarum prædictarum dignoscuntur pertinere, omnibus mora, dilatione, conniventia, et fuco penitus remotis, prout eidem domino nostro Regi sub tui et deputati tui periculo incumbente obtemperare et respondere velitis, et vult vestrum alter. Et quid in hac parte feceritis, et exequi curaveritis, id totum et omne nobis quam citissime significatum iri non postponatis. Dat' in manerio nostro de Lambithe, decimo quarto die mensis Februarii, anno Domini 1549. [1550.] et regni dicti invictissimi in Christo principis et domini nostri Edwardi Sexti quarto, et nostræ consecrationis decimo septimo.

<sup>f</sup> ["Forte, œconomos." Wilkins.]

## XXXIX.

*The Council's Letter to Bp. Ridley to take down Altars, and place Communion Tables in their stead.*

Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And where it is come to our knowledge that being the altars within the more part of the churches of this realm, already upon good and godly considerations taken down, there doth yet remain altars standing in divers others churches, by occasion whereof much variance and contention ariseth among sundry of our subjects, which, if good foresight were not had, might perchance engender great hurt and inconvenience; we let you wit, that minding to have all occasion of contention taken away, which many times groweth by those and such like diversities, and considering that amonges other things belonging to our royal office and cure, we do account the greatest to be, to maintain the common quiet of our realm; we have thought good by the advice of our Council to require you, and nevertheless specially to charge and command you, for the avoiding of all matters of further contention and strife about the standing or taking away of the said altars, to give substantial order throughout all your diocese, that with all diligence all the altars in every church or chapel, as well in places exempted as not exempted, within your said diocese, be taken down, and in the stead of them a table to be set up in some convenient part of the chancel, within every such church or chapel, to serve for the ministration of the blessed communion. And to the intent the same may be done without the offence of such our loving subjects as be not yet so well persuaded in that behalf as we would wish, we send unto you herewith certain considerations gathered and collected, that make for the purpose; the which, and such other as you shall think meet to be set forth to persuade the weak to embrace our proceedings in this part, we pray you cause to be declared to the people by some discreet preachers, in such places as you shall think meet, before the taking down of the said altars; so as both the weak consciences of other may be instructed and satisfied as much as may be, and this our pleasure the more quietly executed. For the better

*Foxe, Acts, &c. p. 727. ed. 1563.*  
*Heylyn, Eccles. Restaur. p. 96.*  
*Wilkins, Concilia, vol. iv. p. 65.*

\* [See these considerations in Foxe, *Acts, &c.* vol. ii. p. 700.]

doing whereof, we require you to open the foresaid considerations in that our cathedral church in your own person, if you conveniently may, or otherwise by your chancellor, or some other grave preacher, both there and in such other market towns and most notable places of your diocese, as you may think most requisite.

Given under our signet, at our palace of Westminster, the 24. day of November, the fourth year of our reign.

E. Somerset, Thomas Cant., W. Wiltsher, Jhon Warwike, J. Bedford, W. Northe, E. Clinton, H. Wentworth, T. Ely.

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XL.

*Letter from the Council to the Princess Mary &c.*

Foxt, *Acts*, &c. p. (881.) ed. 1563. AFTER our due commendations to your Grace. By your letters to us, as an answer to ours, touching certain process against two of your chaplains, for saying mass against the law and statute of the realm, we perceive both the offence of your chaplains is otherwise excused than the matter may bear, and also our good wills otherwise misconstrued than we looked for. And for the first part, where your greatest reason to excuse the offence of a law, is a promise made to the Emperor's Majesty, whereof you write, that first some of us be witnesses, next that the ambassador for the Emperor declared the same unto you, and lastly, that the same promise was affirmed to you before the King's Majesty at your last being with him: we have thought convenient to repeat the matter from the beginning, as it hath hitherto proceeded; whereupon it shall appear how evidently your chaplains hath offended the law, and you also mistaken the promise. The promise is but one in itself, but by times thrice as you say repeated. Of which times, the first is chiefly to be considered, for upon that do the other two depend. It is very

\* [Strype supposes that "this excellent letter was drawn by the pen of "Archbishop Cranmer;" but he gives no reason for his opinion. *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 251. Burnet observes, that, "being in the style of a churchman, "it seems to have been penned either by Cranmer or Ridley." *Ref.* vol. ii. p. 357. For the remainder of the correspondence, see Foxt, *Acts*, &c. vol. ii. p. 702, &c.]



true the Emperor made request to the King's Majesty, that you might have liberty to use the mass in your house, and to be as it were exempted from the danger of the statute. To which request divers good reasons were made, containing the discommodities that should follow the grant thereof, and means devised, rather to persuade you to obey and receive the general and godly reformation of the whole realm, than by a private fancy to prejudice a common order. But yet, upon earnest desire and entreaty made in the Emperor's name, thus much was granted, that for his sake and your own also it should be suffered and winked at, if you had the private mass used in your own closet for a season, until you might be better informed, (whereof there was some hope,) having only with you a few of your own chamber, so that for all the rest of your household the service of the realm should be used, and none other ; further than this the promise exceeded not. And truly such a matter it then seemed to some of us, as indeed it was, that well might the Emperor have required of the King's Majesty a matter of more profit, but of more weight or difficulty to be granted his Majesty could not. After this grant in words, there was by the ambassador now dead, oftentimes desired some writing, as a testimony of the same. But that was ever denied, not because we meant to break the promise, as it was made, but because there was a daily hope of your reformation.

Now to the second time, you say the Emperor's ambassadors' declaration made mention of a promise to you. It might well so be, but we think no otherwise than as it appeareth before written. If it were, his fault it was to declare more than he heard ; ours it may not be, that deny not what we have said. As for the last time when you were with the King's Majesty, the same some of us (whom by these words your letter noteth) do well remember, that no other thing was granted to you in this matter, but as the first promise was made to the Emperor ; at which time you had too many arguments made to approve the proceedings of the King's Majesty, and to condemn the abuse of the mass, to think that where the private mass was judged ungodly, there you should have authority and ground to use it. About the same time, the ambassador made means to have some testimony of the promise under the Great Seal ; and that not heard, to have it but by a letter ; and that also was not only

denied, but divers good reasons alleged, that he should think it denied with reason, and so to be contented with an answer. It was told him, in reducing that which was commonly called the mass to the order of the primitive Church, and the institution of Christ, the King's Majesty and his whole realm had their consciences well quieted, against the which if any thing should be willingly committed, the same should be taken as an offence to God, and a very sin against a truth known. Wherefore to license by open act such a deed, in the conscience of the King's Majesty and his realm, were even a sin against God. The most that might herein be borne, was, that the King's Majesty might, upon hope of your Grace's reconciliation, suspend the execution of his law, so that you would use the license as it was first granted. Whatsoever the ambassador hath said to others, he had no other manner grant from us; nor having it thus granted, could allege any reason against it. And where in your letter your Grace noteth us as breakers of the promise made to the Emperor, it shall appear who hath broken the promise; whether we that have suffered more than we licensed, or you that have transgressed that was granted. Now therefore we pray your Grace confer the doings of your chaplains with every point of the premises; and if the same cannot be excused, then think also how long the law hath been spared. If it prick our consciences somewhat, that so much should be used as by the promise you may claim, how much more should it grieve us to license more than you can claim? And yet could we be content to bear a great burden to satisfy your Grace, if the burden pressed not our consciences: whereof we must say as the Apostle said, *Gloriatio nostra est hæc, testimonium conscientie nostræ*.

For the other part of your Grace's letter, by the which we see you misconstrue our good wills in writing to you, howsoever the law had proceeded against your chaplains, our order in sending to you was to be liked, and therein truly had we special regard of your Grace's degree and estate. And because the law of itself respecteth not persons, we thought to give respect to you, first signifying to you what the law required, before it should be executed; that being warned, your Grace might either think no strangeness in the execution, or for an example of obedience cause it to be executed yourself.

Others we see perplexed with suddenness of matters; your Grace we would not have unwarned, to think any thing done on a sudden. Truly we thought it more commendable for your Grace to help the execution of a law, than to help the offence of one condemned by law. And in giving you knowledge what the King's laws required, we looked for help in the execution by you the King's Majesty's sister. The greater personage your Grace is, the nigher to the King, so much more ought your example to further the laws. For which cause it hath been called a good commonwealth where the people obeyed the higher estates, and they obeyed the laws. As nature hath joined your Grace to the King's Majesty to love him most entirely, so hath reason and law subdued you to obey him willingly. The one and the other we doubt not but your Grace remembereth: and as they both be joined together in you his Majesty's sister, so we trust you will not sever them; for indeed your Grace cannot love him as your brother, but you must obey his Majesty as his subject. Example of your obedience and reverence of his Majesty's laws is instead of a good preacher to a great number of his Majesty's subjects, who, if they may see in you negligence of his Majesty or his laws, will not fail but follow on hardly, and then their fault is not their own but yours, by example; and so may the King's Majesty, when he shall come to further judgment, impute the fault of divers evil people (which thing God forbid) to the sufferance of your Grace's doings. And therefore we most earnestly from the depth of our hearts desire it, that as nature hath set your Grace nigh his Majesty by blood, so your love and zeal to his Majesty will further his estate by obedience.

In the end of your letter two things be touched which we cannot pretermitt; the one is, you seem to charge us with permission of men to break laws and statutes. We think indeed it is too true, that laws and proclamations be broken daily, the more pity it is; but that we permit them, we would be sorry to have it so proved. The other is, that we have suffered bruits to be spoken of you; and that also must be answered as the other. It is pity to see men so evil, as whom they may touch with tales and infamies they care not, so they miss not the best. Such is the boldness of people, that neither we can fully bridle them to raise tales of you, nor of ourselves. And yet whensoever any certain person may be gotten, to be charged with any such, we never leave them unpunished. Indeed the best way is, both

for your Grace, and also us, that when we cannot find and punish the offender, let us say as he said that was evil spoken of; Yet will I so live, as no credit shall be given to my backbiters. Certainly, if we had credited any evil tale of your Grace, we would friendly have admonished you thereof, and so also proceeded, as either the tale-tellers should have been punished, or else to have proved their tales. And therefore we pray your Grace to think no unkindness in us, that any evil bruits have been spread by evil men; but think rather well of us, that howsoever they were spread, we believed them not.

Hitherto your Grace seeth we have written somewhat at length of the promise made to you, and our meanings in our former writings. And now for the latter part of our letter, we will, as briefly as we can, remember to you two special matters, whereof the one might suffice to reform your proceedings, and both together, well considered, we trust shall do your Grace much good. The one is, the truth of that you be desired to follow; the other is, the commodity that thereby shall ensue. They both make a just commandment, and because of the first the latter followeth, that shall be first entreated. We hear say, your Grace refuseth to hear any thing reasoned contrary to your old determination, wherein you make your opinion suspicious, as that you are afraid to be dissuaded. If your faith in things be of God, it may abide any storm or weather; if it be but of sand, you do best to eschew the weather. That which we profess, hath the foundation in Scriptures, upon plain texts and no glosses, the confirmation thereof by the use in the primitive Church, not in this latter corrupted. And indeed our greatest change is not in the substance of our faith, no, not in any one article of our Creed. Only the difference is, that we use the ceremonies, observations, and sacraments of our religion, as the Apostles and first Fathers in the primitive Church did: you use the same that corruption of time brought in, and very barbarous and ignorance nourished, and seem to be bold for custom against truth, and we for truth against custom. Your Grace in one or two places of your letter seemeth to speak earnestly in the maintenance of your faith, and therein, so that your faith be according to the Scriptures, we must have the like opinion. The saying is very good, if the faith be sound. But if every opinion your Grace hath, we cannot tell how conceived, shall be your faith, you may be much better instructed. St.

Paul teacheth you, that faith is by the word of God. And it was a true saying of him that said, *Non qui cuivis credit, fidelis est, sed qui Deo.* For where hath your Grace ground for such a faith, to think common prayer in the English Church should not be in English; that images of God should be set up in the Church; or that the sacrament of Christ's body and blood should be offered by the priests for the dead; yea, or that it should be otherwise used than by the Scripture it was instituted? Though you have no Scripture to maintain them, we have evident Scriptures to forbid them. And although fault may be found, that of late baptism hath been used in your Grace's house, contrary to law, and utterly without license, yet is it the worse, that, contrary to the primitive Church, it hath been in a tongue unknown, by the which the best part of the sacrament is unused, and as it were a blind bargain made by the godfathers in a matter of illumination; and thus in the rest of the things in which your Grace differeth from the common order of the realm, where have you ground or reason, but some custom, which oftentimes is mother of many errors? And although in civil things she may be followed where she causeth quiet, yet not in religious, where she excuseth no error, as in Leviticus it is said, *Ye shall not do after the custom of Egypt, wherein ye dwelled, nor after the custom of Canaan; no, you shall not walk in their laws, for I am your Lord God, keep you my laws and commandments.* The points wherein your Grace differeth in your faith, as you call it, may be showed where, when, how, and by whom they began since the Gospel was preached, the Church was planted, and the Apostles martyred. At which time your faith depended upon the Scripture, and otherwise there was no necessity to believe. For as Hierome saith, "*Quod de Scripturis non habet auctoritatem, eadem facillitate contemnitur qua probatur.*" And because your Grace, as we hear say, readeth sometimes the doctors, we may allege unto you two or three places of other principal doctors. Augustine saith, "*Cum Dominus tacuerit, quis nostrum dicat, illa vel illa sunt: aut si dicere audeat, unde probat?*" And Chrysostome's saying is not unlike; "*Multi, inquit, jactant Spiritum Sanctum, sed qui propria loquuntur, falso illum prætendunt.*" And if you will have their meaning plain, read the fifth chapter of the first book of Ecclesiastica Historia; and where Constantine had these words in the Council. "*In disputationibus, inquit, rerum divi-*

“ narum habetur præscripta Spiritus Sancti doctrina ; Evangelici  
 “ et Apostolici libri cum prophetarum oraculis plene nobis osten-  
 “ dunt sensum numinis : proinde, discordia posita, sumamus ex  
 “ verbis Spiritus questionum explicationes.” What plainer say-  
 ings may be than these to answer your fault? Again, too infinite  
 it were to remember your Grace of the great number of parti-  
 cular errors, crept into the Church, whereupon you make your  
 foundation. The fables of false miracles and lewd pilgrimages  
 may somewhat teach you. Only this we pray your Grace to re-  
 member with yourself, the two words that the Father said of  
 his Son Jesus Christ, *Ipsum audite*.

To the second point of the commodity that may follow your  
 obedience, we having by the King's authority in this behalf, the  
 governance of this realm, must herein be plain with your Grace.  
 And if our speech offend the same, then must your Grace think it  
 is our charge and office to find fault where it is, and our part to  
 amend it as we may. Most sorry truly we be, that your Grace,  
 whom we should otherwise honour for the King's Majesty's sake,  
 by your own deeds should provoke us to offend you ; we do per-  
 ceive great discommodity to the realm by your Grace's singu-  
 larity, if it may be so named, in opinion ; and in one respect, as  
 you are sister to our sovereign lord and master, we most humbly  
 beseech your Grace to show your affection continually towards  
 him, as becometh a sister. And as your Grace is a subject, and  
 we counsellors to his Majesty's estate, we let you know, the ex-  
 ample of your Grace's opinion hindereth the good weal of this  
 realm, which thing we think is not unknown unto you ; and if it  
 be, we let your Grace know, it is too true. For God's sake, we  
 beseech your Grace, let nature set before your eyes the young  
 age of the King your brother. Let reason tell you the loose-  
 ness of the people : how then can you without a wailing heart  
 think that you should be the cause of disturbance? If your  
 Grace see the King, being the ordinary ruler under God, not  
 only of all others in the realm, but of you also, call his people  
 by ordinary laws one way, with what heart can your Grace stay  
 yourself without following ; much worse to stay other that  
 would follow their sovereign Lord? Can it be a love in you  
 to forsake him, his rule, and law, and take a private way by  
 yourself? if it be not love, it is much less obedience. If your  
 Grace think the King's Majesty to be over his people as the  
 head in a man's body is over the rest, not only in place but in

dignity and science, how can you, being a principal member in the same body, keep the nourishment from the head? We pray your Grace most earnestly, think this thing so much grieveth us, as for our private affection and good wills to you though we should dissemble, yet for our public office we cannot but plainly inform your Grace, not doubting but that your wisdom can judge what our office is; and if it were not your own cause, we know your Grace by wisdom could charge us, if we suffered the like in any other. Truly every one of us apart honoureth your Grace for our master's sake, but when we join together in public service, as in this writing we do, we judge it not tolerable, to know disorder, to see the cause, and leave it unamended. For though we would be negligent, the world would judge us; and therefore we do altogether, eftsoons, require your Grace, in the King's Majesty's name, that if any of your two chaplains, Mallet or Barkley, be returned, or as soon as any of them shall return to your Grace's house, the same may be, by your Grace's commandment or order, sent and delivered to the sheriff of Essex, who hath commandment from the King's Majesty, by order of the law and of his crown, to attach them; or if that condition shall not like your Grace, yet that then he may be warned from your Grace's house, and not kept there, to be as it were defended from the power of the law. Which thing we think surely neither your Grace will mean, nor any of your counsel assent thereto.

And so to make an end of our letter, being long for the matter, and hitherto deferred for other our great business, we trust your Grace first seeth how the usage of your chaplains differeth from the manner of our license, and what good intent moved us to write unto you in our former letters; lastly, that the things whereunto the King and the whole realm hath consented, be not only lawful and just by the policy of the realm, but also just and godly by the laws of God. So that if we, which have charge under the King, should willingly consent to the open breach of them, we could neither discharge ourselves to the King for our duties, neither to God for our conscience. The consideration of all which things we pray Almighty God, by his holy spirit, to lay in the bottom of your heart, and thereupon to build such a profession in you, as both God may have his true honour, the King his due obedience, the realm concord,

and we most comfort. For all the which we do heartily pray, and therewith, for the continuance of your Grace's health to your heart's desire. From Westminster, the xxv. of December.

# XLI.

## *Mandatum pro publicatione Actus Parliamenti contra Rebelles.*

Wilkins,  
*Concilia*,  
vol. iv.  
p. 68. from  
Craumer's  
Register,  
fol. 67. a.

THOMAS, &c. per illustrissimum et invictissimum in Christo principem et dominum nostrum dominum Edwardum sextum, &c. ad infra scripta rite suffultus, dilecto in Christo filio Archidiacono nostro Cantuarien', seu ejus officiali, salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem. Literas missivas dicti metuendissimi domini nostri Regis, manu sua regia signatas, ejusque signeto obsignatas, nominibus illustrissimorum virorum dominorum a secretis consiliis suis regiis in calce earundem subscriptas, nobis inscriptas et directas, nuper cum debito officii nostri obsequio accepimus, tenorem subsequentem complectentes :

. Most reverend father in God, right trusty and right well-beloved counsellor, we greet you well. And whereas it is come to our knowledge that there be divers lewd and seditious persons in certain parts of our realm, that practise and devise the means to stir up unlawful assemblies and commotions, to the trouble and unquiet of us and our loving subjects ; forasmuch as we intend to meet with the said practisers in time, we have thought good, among other things that we have set forth for the purpose, to address unto you, as we have done the like to all other prelates of our realm, the books of an Act of Parliament made and established in the third year of our reign, for the containing of our subjects in quiet and good order, and the suppression of the rebellion, if at any time any should happen to be practised or begun within our realm. Wherefore we require, and straitly charge and command you, to give substantial order throughout all your diocese, that within every parish church within the same, the said Act may be openly and distinctly read by the parson or curate to the parochians every Sunday, or second Sunday at the least, at such time in the morning as the assembly of the said parochians is most frequent ; to the end they may be from time to time admonished of their duties, and of the peril that shall ensue to them that shall devise or attempt any thing contrary to the said



Act. And like as we in this perilous time have thought it necessary for the preservation of the common quiet of our realm, to address to you, and the rest of our prelates, these our letters with our said Act; so our special trust is, that you for your part will see the same effectually done and executed throughout your diocese, so duly and with such regard and care as the importance of the case requireth; whereof fail you not, as you tender our pleasure, and will avoid our indignation. Ye even under our signet at our manor of Grenewhyche, the sixth of May, in the fifth year of our reign.

In calce hæc nomina habentur : E. Somersett, R. Ryche, Canc', W. Wiltshire, J. Warwick, J. Bedford, E. Clinton. Inscriptio talis est; To the most reverend Father in God, our right trusty and right well-beloved counsellor the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Nos vero affectantes ex animo ejusdem domini nostri Regis literis et mandatis obtemperare, volentesque pro nostro erga suam regiam celsitudinem officio in demandatis nobis negotiis omnem nostram curam et solertem adhibere diligentiam, vobis pro parte suæ regię Majestatis districte præcipiendo mandamus harum serie, quatenus receptis præsentibus, cum omni qua poteritis celeritate et diligentia maturis, dilectos filios nostros rectores, vicarios, et curatos quarumcunque Ecclesiarum parochialium nostræ dioceseos Cantuariensis moneatis, et præcipiendo mandetis, quatenus ipsi et eorum quilibet vel singuli actum sive statutum Parlamenti in eisdem literis regiis specificatum, cujus unum exemplar typis excusum vobis una cum præsentibus per latorem præsentis nostri mandati transmittimus, singulis diebus dominicis vel saltem qualibet secunda die dominica in Ecclesia sua parochiali coram parochianis ejusdem, mane quum et quando parochiani cujuslibet parochiæ ad divina audienda in Ecclesia sua frequentes adfuerint, publice, distincta, aperta, ac alta et intelligibili voce perlegant, ac cætera omnia et singula in dictis literis regiis descripta perimpleant, exequantur, et sedulo fieri curent, omnibus mora, dilatione, et fuco penitus remotis, prout eidem domini nostro Regi sub vestro incumbente periculo obtemperare et respondere velitis, et vult vestrum alter. Et quid in præmissis feceritis, et exequi curaveritis, id totum et omne nobis quam citissime significatum iri non postponatis. Dat' in manerio nostro de Lambehith, nono die mensis Maii,

anno Domini 1551, regnique ejusdem felicissimi domini nostri Regis anno quinto, et nostræ consecrationis decimo nono.

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XLII.

*Letter from Edward VI. to the Bishops, on occasion of the Sweating Sickness<sup>b</sup>.*

EDWARD<sup>i</sup>.

By the King,

State Paper  
Office. Ec-  
clesiastical  
Papers.  
*Original.*

RIGHT Reverend Father in God, right trusty and wellbeloved, we greet you well. And being not a little disquieted to see the subjects of our realm vexed with this extreme and sudden plague, that daily increaseth over all, we cannot but lament the people's wickedness, through the which the wrath of God hath been thus marvellously provoked. For the more we study how to instruct them in the knowledge of God, and of his most holy word, that consequently they might follow and observe his laws and precepts, so much the more busy is the wicked spirit to alienate their hearts from all godliness; and his malice hath so much prevailed, that, bycause the people are become as it were open rebels against the Divine Majesty, God, after one plague hath sent another and another, increasing it so from one to one, till at length, seeing none other remedy, he hath thrown forth this most extreme plague of sudden death. And bycause there is no other way to pacify his fury, and to recover his grace and mercy, but by prayer and amendment of life, considering the cure and charge committed unto you, we have thought good to call upon you to use all diligence possible throughout your whole diocese, as well by yourself as by good ministers, to persuade the people to resort more diligently to common prayer than they have done, and there not only to pray with all their hearts, in the fear of God, as good and faithful men should do, but also to have a better regard unto their

<sup>b</sup> ["The sweating sickness breaking out this year in great violence, (whereby the two sons of the Duke of Suffolk were taken off,) letters from the Council, dated July 18, were sent to all the bishops, to persuade the people to prayer, and to see God better served." Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 270. See also Strype, *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 279; Burnet, *Reformat.* vol. ii. p. 363; Edward VI's *Journal*, *ibid.* vol. ii. App. p. 44.]

<sup>i</sup> [This signature is affixed by stamp.]

livings, and specially to refrain their greedy appetites from that insatiable serpent of covetousness, wherewith most men are so infected, that it seemeth each one would devour another without charity or any godly respect to the poor, to their neighbours, or to their common wealth. For the which God hath not only now poured out this plague upon them, but also prepared another plague, that after this life shall plague them everlastingly. Wherein you must use those persuasions that may engender a terror, to reduce them from their corrupt, naughty, and detestable vices. But as the body and members of a dull or sick head cannot be lusty, or apt to do well, so in many cures of this our realm, as well the chief as the particular ministers of the Church, have been both so dull and so feeble in discharging of their duties, that it is no marvel, though their flocks wander, not knowing the voice of their shepherd, and much less the voice of their principal and sovereign Master. We trust ye are none of those; but if there have been such negligence within your jurisdiction, we exhort and pray you, and nevertheless charge and command you, by the authority given us of God, to see it reformed; increasing also amendment in that that already is well begun, in such sort as your diligence may declare you worthy of your vocation, and the effects thereof yield unto God an obedient, faithful, and fearful flock: which we wish to God we may shortly see. Yeven under our signet, at our honour of Hampton Court, the 18th of July, the fifth year of our reign.

E. Somerset.

W. Wilteshr.

J. Bedford.

F. Huntyngdon.

T. Darcy.

G. Cobham.

T. Cheyne,

John Gage.

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 XLIII.

*Mandates by Edward VI. for subscription to the Articles of 1552.*

- I. The King's Mandate to the Bishop of Norwich, sent with the Articles to be subscribed by the Clergy.

By the King.

RIGHT Reverend Father in God, right trusty and well-be-

Burnet, loved, we greet you well. And because it hath pleased Al-  
*Ref.* vol. iii. mighty God in this latter time of the world, after long darkness  
*App.* b. iv. of knowledge, to reveal to this his Church of England, whereof  
 No. 8. from of knowledge, to reveal to this his Church of England, whereof  
 Thirlby's we have under Christ the chief charge in earth, a sincere  
 Regist. knowledge of the Gospel, to the inestimable benefit of us and  
 Strype, our people, redeemed by our Saviour Christ: We have thought  
*Memorials,* it meet and our duty, for the pure conservation of the same  
 vol. ii. *App.* Gospel in our Church, with one uniform profession, doctrine,  
 p. 421. from it meet and our duty, for the pure conservation of the same  
 Ridley's Gospel in our Church, with one uniform profession, doctrine,  
 Regist. and preaching, and for the avoiding of many perilous and vain  
 opinions and errors, to send unto you certain Articles, devised  
 and gathered with great study, and by counsel and good advice  
 of the greatest learned part of our bishops of this realm, and  
 sundry others of our clergy; which Articles we will and exhort  
 yourself to subscribe, and in your preachings, readings, and  
 teachings to observe, and cause to be subscribed and observed  
 of all other, which do, or hereafter shall preach, or read,  
 within your diocese. And if any person or persons, having  
 benefice within your diocese, shall from henceforth not only  
 refuse wilfully to set their hands to these Articles, but also ob-  
 stinately exhort their parochians to withstand the same, and  
 teach the people in a contrary way; our pleasure is, that being  
 duly proved, ye shall advertise us, or our Council, of the whole  
 matter fully, to the intent such further order may by direction  
 from us, or our said Council, be taken, as the case shall re-  
 quire, and shall stand with justice and the order of our laws.  
 And further, that when and as often as ye shall have any man-  
 ner of person presented unto you to be admitted by you as the  
 ordinary to any ecclesiastical order, ministry, office, or cure,  
 within your diocese, that ye shall, before you admit him, confer  
 with him in every these Articles. And finding him thereto con-  
 senting, to cause him to subscribe the same in one ledger book  
 to be formed for that purpose, which may remain as a register  
 for a concord, and to let him have a copy of the same Articles.  
 And if any man in that case shall refuse to consent to any of  
 the said Articles, and to subscribe the same, then we will and  
 command you, that neither ye, nor any for you, or by your pro-  
 curement in any wise shall admit him, or allow him as sufficient  
 and meet to take any order, ministry, or ecclesiastical cure.  
 For which your so doing we shall discharge you from all manner  
 of penalties, or dangers of actions, suits, or pleas of præmunires,

*quare impedit*, or such like. And yet our meaning is, that if any party refuse to subscribe any of these Articles for lack of learning and knowledge of the truth, ye shall in that case by teaching, conference, and proof of the same by the Scriptures, reasonably and discreetly move and persuade him thereto, before you shall peremptorily judge him as unable and a recusant. And for the trial of his conformity, ye shall, according to your discretion, prefix a time and space convenient to deliberate and give his consent, so that be betwixt three weeks and six weeks from the time of the first access unto you. And if after six weeks he will not consent and agree willingly to subscribe, then ye may lawfully, and shall in any wise refuse to admit or enable him. And where there is of late set forth by our authority a Catechism for the instruction of young scholars in the fear of God, and the true knowledge of his holy religion, with express commandment from us to all schoolmasters to teach and instruct their scholars the said Catechism, making it the beginning and first foundation of their teaching in their schools; our pleasure is, that for the better execution of our said commandment, ye shall yearly, at the least, once visit, or cause to be visited, every school within your said diocese; in which visitation it shall be inquired both how the schoolmaster of every such school hath used himself in the teaching of the said Catechism, and also how the scholars do receive and follow the same; making plain and full certificate of the offenders contrary to this our order, and of their several offences, to the Archbishop of that province, within the months from time to time after every such offence. Yeoven under our signet, at the manor of Grenewich, the ixth day of June, the viiith year of our reign.

2. A Mandate, in King Edward's name, to the officers of the Archbishop of Canterbury; requiring them to see that the Articles of Religion should be subscribed.

*Mandatum pro publicatione nonnullorum Articulorum, veram Christi fidem concernentium.*

EDWARDUS Sextus, Dei gratia, Angliæ, et Franciæ, et Hi- Burnet,  
bernæ Rex, Fidei Defensor, et in terra Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et *Reformat.*  
Hiberniæ Supremum Caput, dilectis sibi, officiali curiæ Cantuar' vol. iii. App.  
et decano decanatus de Arcubus Londin' ac eorum surrogatis, de- B. vi. No. 7.  
from Reg-  
Cranmer,  
f. 65.

Wilkins,  
*Concilia*,  
vol. iv. p. 79.

putatis, aut locum tenentibus, uni vel pluribus, salutem. Quoniam nuper, per literas nostras regias, signeto nostro obsignatas, reverendissimo in Christo patri, consiliario nostro fidelissimo, Thomæ Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, totius Angliæ Primate et Metropolitano, dederimus in mandatis, quatenus ipse, ad Dei optimi maximi gloriam illustrandam, nostrumque et Ecclesiæ nostræ Anglicanæ (cujus caput supremum post Christum, esse dignoscimur) honorem, et ad tollendam opinionis dissensionem, et consensum veræ religionis firmandum, nonnullos articulos, et alia rectam Christi fidem spirantia, clero et populo nostris ubilibet infra suam jurisdictionem degentibus, pro parte nostra exponeret, publicaret, denunciaret, et significaret; prout in literis nostris (quarum tenores, pro hic insertis habere volumus) latius continetur, et describitur: vobis igitur, et eorum cuilibet, tenore præsentium, districte præcipiendo nostra sublimi regia auctoritate mandamus; quatenus moneatis, monerive faciatis preëmptorie, omnes et singulos rectores, vicarios, presbyteros, stipendiarios, curatos, plebanos, ministros, ludimagistros cujuslibet scholæ grammatices, aut aliter vel alias grammaticam aperte vel privatim profitentes, aut pubem instituentes, verbi Dei prædicatores vel prælectores, necnon quoscunque alios, quamcunque aliam functionem ecclesiasticam, (quocunque nomine aut appellatione censetur, habetur, aut nuncupatur) obtinentes et habentes, oeconomos quoque cujuslibet parochiæ infra decanatum de Arcubus prædictum existentes aut degentes; quod ipsi omnes, et eorum quilibet, per se compareant vel compareat personaliter, coram dicto reverendissimo patre Cantuar' Archiepiscopo, in aula ædium suarum apud Lambeth, die Veneris vicesimo tertio die præsentis mensis Junii, inter horas septimam et nonam, ante meridiem ejusdem diei, his quæ tunc iis ex parte nostra fuerint significanda, humiliter obtemperaturi, facturique ulterius et recepturi, quod consonans fuerit rationi, ac suo convenerit erga nostram regiam dignitatem officio: mandantes, quatenus dictis die, loco, et horis, eundem reverendissimum, de executione hujus regii nostri mandati, una cum nominibus et cognominibus omnium et singulorum per vos monitorum, rite, recte, et auctentice reddatis certiore, una cum præsentibus uti decet. Teste Thoma Cant' Archiepiscopo prædicto, decimo nono die Junii, anno regni nostri septimo.

Certificatorium factum super Executione Mandati prædicti.

REVERENDISSIMO in Christo patri et domino, domino Thomæ, permissione divina, Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, totius Angliæ Primate et Metropolitano; auctoritate illustrissimi in Christo principis, et domini nostri domini Edwardi Sexti, Dei gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ regis, Fidei Defensoris, ac in terra Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ Supremi Capituli, sufficienti auctoritate fulcito, Johannes Gibbon civilium legum professor, vestræ celsitudinis observantissimus, pariter eidem addictissimus, decanatus vestræ beatæ Mariæ Virginis de Arcubus London' Commissarius, omnem quæ decet reverentiam et obedientiam tanto reverendissimo patri debitam cum honore. Mandatum illustrissimi et potentissimi domini nostri Regis, præsentibus annexum, nuper accepimus, cujus vigore pariter et auctoritate omnes et singulos rectores, presbiteros, &c. Dat' vicesimo secundo die mensis Junii, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo tertio.

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XLIV.

\* *ALL THE SUBMISSIONS, and Recantations of Thomas Cranmer, late Archbishop of Canterbury, truly set forth both in Latin and English, agreeable to the Originals, written and subscribed with his own Hand.*

VISUM ET EXAMINATUM PER REVERENDUM PATREM ET  
DOMINUM,

DOMINUM EDMUNDUM EPISCOPUM LONDON.

ANNO MDLVI.

1. *The true copy of the First Submission of Thomas Cranmer, late Archbishop of Canterbury, which afterward by inconstancy and unstableness he the said Thomas Cranmer did cancel, the original whereof was sent to the Queen's Majesty and her Privy-Council, as followeth:*

Forasmuch as the King and Queen's Majesties, by consent of their parliament, have received the Pope's authority within this

\* [This is a reprint, from a copy belonging to Mr. Todd, of the original pamphlet published by Cawood. See above, p. 129; Strype, *Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 233; Todd, *Life of Cranmer*, vol. ii. p. 472.]

realm, I am content to submit myself to their laws herein, and to take the Pope for chief head of this Church of England, so far as God's laws, and the laws and customs of this realm will permit.

Thomas Cranmer.

2. *The true copy of the Second Submission of the said Thomas Cranmer, which he the said Thomas did advisedly subscribe with his own hand, and did not afterward revoke it, the original whereof was also sent up to the Queen's Majesty and her said Council, as before :*

I, Thomas Cranmer, doctor in divinity, do submit myself to the Catholic Church of Christ, and to the Pope, Supreme Head of the same Church, and unto the King and the Queen's Majesties, and unto all their laws and ordinances.

Thomas Cranmer.

3. *Tertium scriptum Cranmeri sua ipsius manu exaratum, et per eum in Buccardo exhibitum London' Episcopo.*

I am content to submit myself to the King and Queen's Majesties, and to all their laws and ordinances, as well concerning the Pope's supremacy as others. And I shall from time to time move and stir all other to do the like, to the uttermost of my power, and to live in quietness and obedience unto their Majesties, most humbly, without murmur or grudging against any of their godly proceedings. And for my book which I have written, I am contented to submit me to the judgment of the Catholic Church, and of the next General Council.

Thomas Cranmer.

4. *Quartum scriptum Cranmeri sua ipsius manu exaratum, et per eum in Buccardo exhibitum London' Episcopo.*

Be it known by these presents, that I, Thomas Cranmer, doctor of divinity, and late Archbishop of Canterbury, do firmly, steadfastly, and assuredly believe in all articles and points of the Christian religion and Catholic faith, as the Catholic Church doth believe, and hath ever believed from the beginning. Moreover, as concerning the Sacraments of the church, I believe unfeignedly in all points as the said Catholic Church doth and hath believed from the beginning of Christian religion. In wit-



ness whereof I have humbly subscribed my hand unto these presents, the xvi. day of February, MDLV.

Thomas Cranmer.

5. *The true copy of a Fifth Submission of the said Thomas Cranmer, written and subscribed with his own hand in the presence of Master Henry Syddall, and of one called Frater Johannes de Villa Garcina, a notable learned man, as followeth.*

Ego, Thomas Cranmer, anathematizo omnem Lutheri et Zuinglii hæresim et quodcunque dogma sanæ doctrinæ contrarium, confiteor vero et credo firmissime unam sanctam et Catholicam Ecclesiam visibilem extra quam salus non est, atque ejusdem in terris supremum agnosco caput Episcopum Romanum, quem fateor summum esse pontificem et papam ac Christi vicarium, cui omnes tenentur subesse fideles. Jam quod ad sacramenta attinet, credo et colo in sacramento Eucharistiæ verum Christi corpus et sanguinem sub speciebus panis et vini verissime citra ulla tropum et figuram contenta, conversis et transubstantiatis pane in corpus et vino in sanguinem Redemptoris divina potentia. Atque in sex aliis sacramentis (sicut in hoc) id credo et teneo quod universa tenet Ecclesia ac sentit Romana. Credo insuper purgatorium locum, ubi ad tempus cruciantur defunctorum animæ, pro quibus sancte et salubriter orat Ecclesia, sicut et sanctos colit, ad illosque preces effundit. Demum in omnibus me profiteor non aliud sentire quam Ecclesia Catholica et Romana tenet: ac per me pœnitet quod aliud unquam tenuerim ac senserim. Deum autem supplex oro, ut pietate sua mihi condonare dignetur, quæ in illum et ejus Ecclesiam commisi, fideles simul rogo et obsecro, ut pro me preces effundant, eos autem qui meo aut exemplo aut doctrina seducti sunt, per sanguinem Jesu Christi obtestor, ut ad Ecclesiæ redeant unitatem, idemque dicamus omnes, ut non sint in nobis schismata. Postremo sicut me subicio Catholicæ Christi Ecclesiæ ejusdemque supremo capiti, ita me submitto Philippo et Mariæ Angliæ Regibus, atque eorum legibus et decretis, et testor Deum optimum maximumque, hæc in nullius gratiam, nullius metu a me confessa, sed ex animo et libentissime, ut meæ et aliorum simul conscientiiis consulam et prospiciam.

Per me, Thomam Cranmer.

Testes hujus subscriptionis, Frater Joannes de Villa Garcina.

Henricus Sidallus.

6. *The true Copy of a Sixth Submission of the said Thomas Cranmer, written and subscribed with his own hand, as followeth.*

Ego, Thomas Cranmer, pridem Archiepiscopus Cantuarien' confiteor, et doleo ex animo, quod gravissime deliquerim in cœlum et adversus Anglicanum regnum, immo in universam Christi Ecclesiam, quam longe sævius persecutus sum quam olim Paulus, qui fui blasphemus, persecutor, et contumeliosus. Atque utinam qui Saulum malitia et scelere superavi, possem cum Paulo quem detraxi honorem Christo et Ecclesiæ utilitatem recompensare. Verum meum utcunque animum latro ille evangelicus solatur. Ille namque tunc tandem ex animo respuit, tunc illum furti pertæsum est, quum furari amplius non liceret: et ego (qui meo officio et auctoritate abusus, et Christo honorem, et huic regno fidem et religionem abstuli) jam tandem Dei maximi beneficio ad me reversus, agnosco me omnium maximum peccatorem, et cupio si qua possem Deo primum, deinde Ecclesiæ, et ejus capiti supremo, atque regibus, toti demum Anglicano regno condignam reddere satisfactionem. Verum sicut latro ille felix, quum non esset solvendo quas pecunias et opes abstulit (quum nec pes nec manus affixæ cruci suum officium facerent) corde et lingua duntaxat (quæ non erat ligata) testatus est quod reliqua membra essent factura, si eadem qua lingua libertate gauderent; illa confessus est Christum innocentem, ea objurgabat impudentiam socii, eadem anteactam vitam detestatus et peccatorum veniam impetravit, et veluti clavi quadam paradisi fores aperuit: hujus exemplo non mediocre concipio de Christi misericordia spem, fore ut mihi peccata condonet. Manibus et pedibus careo, quibus quod destruxi iterum reædificare valeam, (relicta enim sunt tantummodo labia circa dentes meos) sed vitulos labiorum nostrorum recipiet, qui est supra quam credi possit misericors. Hac igitur concepta spe libet hunc offerre vitulum, hanc minimam et corporis et vitæ partem litare. Confiteor in primis meam erga Deum opt. max. ingratitude, agnosco me omni indignissimum beneficio et pietate, dignissimum vero omni non tantum humano ac temporali sed divino et æterno supplicio, quod in Henricum VIII. et maxime in ejus uxorem Reginam Catherinam vehementissime deliqui, quum divortii causa et auctor extiti: quæ sane culpa, omnium hujus regni malorum et calamitatum seminarium fuit. Hinc tot proborum neces, hinc totius regni schisma, hinc hæreses, hinc

tot animorum et corporum strages obortæ sunt, ut vix possim vel ratione complecti. Sed quum adeo sint hæc gravia initiaque dolorum, aperui fateor ingentem fenestram hæresibus cunctis, quarum ego præcipuum egi doctorem et ducem. In primis vero illud vehementer meum excruciat animum, quod sacrosanctum Eucharistiæ Sacramentum tot blasphemiiis et contumeliis affecerim, negans Christi corpus et sanguinem vere et realiter sub speciebus panis et vini contineri: editis etiam libellis quibus veritatem pro viribus impugnabam: in hac sane parte non solum Saulo et latrone deterior, verum omnium quos terra unquam sustinuit sceleratissimus. Domine, peccavi in cælum et coram te. In cælum, quod mea causa tot caret cœlicolis, quod cœleste hoc beneficium nobis exhibitum negavi impudentissime. Peccavi et in terram, quæ tamdiu hoc sacramento misere caruit, in homines quos ab hac supersubstantiali esca revocavi, tot occisor hominum, quot inedia perierunt. Defraudavi defunctorum animas hoc jugi et celeberrimo sacrificio. Atque ex his omnibus manifestum est, quantopere etiam post Christum in ejus vicarium injurius extiti, quem libris etiam editis potestate privavi. Propterea magnopere et impensissime oro summum pontificem, ut mihi ob Christi clementiam condonet, quæ adversus illum ejusque apostolicam sedem commisi. Ac serenissimos Reges Angliæ, Hispaniæ, &c. Philippum et Mariam supplex oro, ut regia qua pollent clementia mihi velint ignoscere: totum etiam regnum, immo universam Ecclesiam rogo et obsecro, misereantur hujus miseræ animæ, cui jam præter linguam nihil est reliquum, quo possim illatas injurias et damna resarcire. Præcipue vero quia tibi soli peccavi, oro, clementissime Pater, (qui omnes, ad te venire quamlibet facinorosos et cupis et præcipis,) me propius et cominus digneris intueri, sicut Magdalenam et Petrum respexisti, vel certe sicut latronem ex cruce aspiciens, tuæ gratiæ et gloriæ promissione dignatus es pavidum et trementem animum consolari, ita etiam solita et nativa tua pietate oculos misericordiæ ad me convertas, necnon tuo me digneris alloquio, dicens, Salus tua ego sum, et in die mortis, Hodie mecum eris in Paradiso. Scriptum est hoc anno Domini 1555. mensis Martii 18.

Per me, Thomam Cranmer.

*The Prayer and Saying of Thomas Cranmer, a little before his death, all written with his own hand, as followeth.*

Good Christian people, my dear beloved brethren, and my sisters in Christ, I beseech you most heartily to pray for me to Almighty God, that he will forgive me all my sins and offences, which be many without number, and great above measure, but yet one thing grieveth my conscience more than all the rest, whereof, God willing, I intend to speak more hereafter. But how many and how great soever they be, I beseech you to pray God of his mercy to pardon and forgive me all.

O Father of heaven, O Son of God, Redeemer of the world, O Holy Ghost, proceeding from them both, three Persons and one God, have mercy upon me, a most wretched caitiff and miserable sinner. I have offended both heaven and earth, more than my tongue can express. Whither then may I go, or whither shall I flee for succour? To heaven I may be ashamed to lift up mine eyes, and in earth I find no refuge or succour. What shall I then do? Shall I despair? God forbid. O God, thou art merciful, and refusest none that cometh unto Thee for succour. To Thee, therefore, do I run; to Thee do I humble myself; saying, O Lord God, my sins be great, but have mercy upon me for thy great mercy. God was not made man for our small offences. Thou didst not give thy Son unto death for small sins only, but for all and the greatest sins of the world, so that the sinner return to Thee in his heart, as I do here at this present. Wherefore have mercy on me, O Lord, for although my sins be great, yet thy mercy is greater. I crave nothing, O Lord, for mine own merits, but for thy name's sake, that it may be hallowed thereby, and for thy dear Son, Jesus Christ's sake. And now therefore, O Father, that art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come, &c.

Every man desireth, good people, at the time of their death to give some good exhortation, that good folks may remember after their death, and be the better for the same: so I beseech God grant unto me that I may speak something, whereby He may be glorified, and you edified.

First, it is an heavy case to see how many folks be so much doted of this present world, and be so careful of it, that for the

world to come they seem to care very little or nothing. Therefore this shall be my first exhortation, that you set not over much by this present world, but upon the world to come and upon God; and to learn to know what this lesson meaneth of St. John. *The love of this world, saith he, is hatred unto God.*

The second exhortation is, that, next unto God, you obey your King and Queen, willingly and gladly, without murmuring or grudging, not for fear of them, but much more for fear of God, knowing that they be God's ministers, appointed by God for to govern and rule you; and therefore they that resist them, resist God's ordinance.

The third exhortation is, that you love together like brethren and sistern. But, alas, pity it is to see how faint this love is, many taking other not as brother and sisters, but rather as strangers or mortal enemies. And yet, I pray you, learn this one lesson, to do good unto all men, as much as in you lieth, and to hurt no man, no more than you would do to your natural loving brother and sister. For whosoever hateth any person, and goeth about maliciously to hurt him, surely, without doubt, God is not with that man, although he think himself never so much in God's favour.

The fourth exhortation shall be to them that have substance and riches of the world, that they well consider and remember three sayings of the Scripture. One is of our Saviour Christ himself, who saith, that *rich men hardly come into heaven*: a sore saying, and yet spoken of Him that knew the truth. The second is of St. John, who saith thus; *He that hath the substance of this world, and seeth his brother in necessity, and shutteth up his mercy from him, how can he say that he loveth God?* The third is of St. James, who saith to covetous rich men after this manner: *Weep and howl, you rich men, for the misery that shall come upon you: your riches do rot, your clothes be moth-eaten, your gold and silver wax cankerous and rusty, and their rust shall bear witness against you, and consume you like fire: you make a hoard and treasure of God's indignation against the last day.* Let them that be rich, ponder well these three sentences; for if ever they had occasion to show their charity, they have it now, the poor people being so many, and victuals so dear.

Here to declare the Queen's just title to the crown.

And now, forasmuch as I am come to the last end of my life, whereupon hangeth all my life past, and all my life to come, either to live with my Saviour Christ for ever in joy, or else to be in pains ever with the wicked devils in hell; and I see before mine eyes presently either heaven ready to receive me, or else hell ready to swallow me up: I shall therefore declare unto you my very faith, without colour or dissimulation; for now is no time to dissemble, whatsoever I have said, preached, or written in time past.

First, I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, &c. And I believe every article of the catholic faith, every clause, word, and sentence taught by our Saviour Jesus Christ, his Apostles and Prophets, in the New and Old Testament, and all articles explicate and set forth in the General Councils.

And now I come to the great thing that so much troubleth my conscience, more than any other thing that ever I did; and that is, setting abroad untrue books and writings, contrary to the truth of God's word; which now I renounce and condemn, and refuse them utterly as erroneous, and for none of mine. But you must know also what books they were, that you may beware of them, or else my conscience is not discharged; for they be the books which I wrote against the sacrament of the altar sith the death of King Henry VIII. But, whatsoever I wrote then, now is time and place to say truth; wherefore, renouncing all those books, and whatsoever in them is contained, I say and believe that our Saviour Christ Jesu is really and substantially contained in the blessed sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine.

*Excusum Londini in ædibus Johannis Camodi  
Typographi Regiæ Majestatis.*

*Anno MD.LVI. Cum privilegio.*

## XLV.

*A Collection of Authorities cited by Cranmer and others in the Controversy on the Lord's Supper<sup>1</sup>.*

IGNATIUS. A. D. 101.

*Epist. ad Philadelphenses.* Patr. Apostol. Cotel. tom. ii. p. 76. Μία γάρ ἐστὶν ἡ σὰρξ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ καὶ ἐν αὐτοῦ τὸ αἷμα τὸ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐκχυθέν· εἰς καὶ ἄρτος τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐθρύφθη καὶ ἐν ποτήριον τοῖς ὅλοις διενεμήθη.

[The above is the interpolated text from which Cranmer quoted. The corrected text is as follows.]

Ibid. tom. ii. p. 31. Μία γὰρ σὰρξ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἐν ποτήριον εἰς ἐνωσιν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 320.)

*Epist. ad Ephesios*, ed. Cotel. tom. ii. pp. 16. 52. Ἐνα ἄρτον κλώντες, ὅς ἐστι φάρμακον ἀθανασίας, ἀντίδοτος τοῦ \* μὴ<sup>m</sup> ἀποθανεῖν, ἀλλὰ ζῆν ἐν<sup>n</sup> θεῷ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, \* καθαρτήριον ἀλεξίκακον \*. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 402.)

*Epist. ad Smyrnaeos*, ed. Cotel. tom. ii. p. 36. et in Theodoret. *Dial.* iii. ed. Sirmondi, tom. iv. p. 154. Εὐχαριστίας καὶ προσευχῆς ἀπέχονται, διὰ τὸ μὴ ὁμολογεῖν τὴν εὐχαριστίαν σάρκα εἶναι τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὴν ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν παθοῦσαν, ἣν τῇ χρηστότητι ὁ πατὴρ ἡγείρεν. *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. pp. 230. 233.)

<sup>1</sup> [Cranmer and his adversaries in the Eucharistic controversy seldom printed more than a version of the authorities which they cited: and mutual charges of mistranslation were the result. To enable the reader to form his own judgment on these charges, without referring to the voluminous works of the Fathers, a large number of the original passages have here been extracted. They have been arranged in chronological order, partly for convenience of reference, and partly for the purpose of presenting a series of citations on the Lord's Supper, from the time of Ignatius, A. D. 101, to that of the Lateran Council, A. D. 1215, when the doctrine of transubstantiation was finally established. The inquiry, it will be remembered, may be pursued further, by referring also to those authorities, which, being quoted by the contending parties in the original language, it has been thought unnecessary to repeat here.]

<sup>m</sup> [The words included between asterisks are supposed to be interpolations.]

<sup>n</sup> [θεῷ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. The most approved reading is Χριστῷ διὰ πάντες. Patr. Apost. Cotel.]

## JUSTIN MARTYR. A. D. 140.

*Apologia* i. (vulg. ii.) ed. Bened. p. 82. "Ἐπειτα προσφέρεται τῷ προστῶτι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἄρτος, καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος καὶ κρέματος. καὶ οὗτος λαβὼν, αἶνον καὶ δόξαν τῷ πατρὶ τῶν ὄλων διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου, ἀναπέμπει· καὶ εὐχαριστίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατηξιῶσθαι τούτων παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πολλὸν ποιεῖται· οὐ συντελέσαντος τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν, πᾶς ὁ παρὼν λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων, ἀμήν. τὸ δὲ ἀμήν, τῇ Ἑβραϊδὶ φωνῇ, τὸ γένοιτο σημαίνει. εὐχαριστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ προστῶτος, καὶ ἐπευφημήσαντος παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ, οἱ καλούμενοι παρ' ἡμῖν διάκονοι διδῶσιν ἐκάστῳ τῶν παρόντων μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος, καὶ τοῖς οὐ παροῦσιν ἀποφέρουσι. καὶ ἡ τροφή αὕτη καλεῖται παρ' ἡμῖν εὐχαριστία· ἥς οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ μετασχεῖν ἐξόν ἐστιν, ἢ τῷ πιστεύοντι ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὰ δεδιδαγμένα ὑφ' ἡμῶν, καὶ λουσαμένῳ τὸ ὑπὲρ ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ εἰς ἀναγέννησιν λουτρὸν, καὶ οὕτως βιοῦντι ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς παρέδωκεν. οὐ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον, οὐδὲ κοινὸν πόμα ταῦτα λαμβάνομεν· ἀλλ' ὃν τρόπον διὰ λόγου Θεοῦ σαρκοποιηθεὶς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν, καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἔσχεν, οὕτως καὶ τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν, ἐξ ἥς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ἐκείνου τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι. οἱ γὰρ ἀπόστολοι ἐν τοῖς γενομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπομνημονεύμασιν, ἃ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια, οὕτως παρέδωκεν ἐντετάλθαι αὐτοῖς τὸν Ἰησοῦν· λαβόντα ἄρτον, εὐχαριστήσαντα εἰπεῖν, τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου· καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὁμοίως λαβόντα καὶ εὐχαριστήσαντα εἰπεῖν, τοῦτό ἐστι αἷμά μου· καὶ μόνοις αὐτοῖς μεταδοῦναι. *Defence*, (vol. ii. pp. 320. 373. 381.); *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. pp. 404. 406.); *Disputation with Chedsey*, (vol. iv. p. 60.)

## IRENÆUS. A. D. 167.

*Adversus Hæreses*, lib. iv. cap. 18. ed. Bened. p. 251. 'Ὡς γὰρ ἀπὸ γῆς ἄρτος προσλαμβανόμενος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐκέτι κοινὸς ἄρτος ἐστίν, ἀλλ' εὐχαριστία, ἐκ δύο πραγμάτων συνεστηκυῖα, ἐπιγείου τε καὶ οὐρανίου· οὕτως καὶ τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν μεταλαμβάνοντα τῆς εὐχαριστίας, μηκέτι εἶναι φθαρτά. *Defence*, (vol. ii. pp. 321. 373.); *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. p. 408.)

*Ibid.* lib. v. cap. 2. ed. Bened. p. 294. 'Ἐπειδὴ μέλη αὐτοῦ ἐσμεν, καὶ διὰ τῆς κτίσεως τρεφόμεθα, . . . τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως ποτήριον, αἷμα ἴδιον ὡμολόγησε, ἐξ οὗ τὸ ἡμέτερον δεύει αἷμα, καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως



ἄρτον, ἴδιον σῶμα διεβεβαιώσατο, ἀφ' οὗ τὰ ἡμέτερα αἰξί σώματα. Ὅποτε οὖν καὶ τὸ κεκραμένον ποτήριον, καὶ ὁ γεγωνὸς ἄρτος ἐπιδέχεται τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ γίνεται ἡ εὐχαριστία σῶμα Χριστοῦ, ἐκ τούτων δὲ αἰξί καὶ συνίσταται ἡ τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν ὑπόστασις· πῶς δεκτικὴν μὴ εἶναι λέγουσι τὴν σάρκα τῆς δωρεᾶς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἥτις ἐστὶ ζωὴ αἰώνιος, τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Κυρίου τρεφομένην, καὶ μέλος αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχουσαν. *Defence*, (vol. ii. pp. 321. 373. 402.); *Answer to Gardynner*, (vol. iii. pp. 230. 232. 518, 519); *Disputation with Chedsey*, (vol. iv. p. 61.)

*Ibid.* lib. iv. cap. 57. ed. Bened. p. 270. Dominus, hujus conditionis quæ est secundum nos accipiens panem, suum corpus esse confitebatur, et temperamentum calicis suum sanguinem confirmavit. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 373.)

#### CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS. A. D. 192.

*Pædagog.* lib. ii. cap. 2. ed. Potter. tom. i. p. 186. Εὖ γὰρ ἴστε, μετέλαβεν οἶνου καὶ αὐτός· καὶ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος καὶ αὐτός. καὶ εὐλόγησέν γε τὸν οἶνον, εἰπὼν, Λάβετε, πίετε· τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τὸ αἷμα, αἷμα τῆς ἀμπέλου· τὸν λόγον, τὸν περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχεόμενον εἰς ἄφεισιν ἁμαρτιῶν, εὐφροσύνης ἁγίου ἀλληγορεῖ νᾶμα . . . ὅτι δὲ οἶνος ἦν τὸ εὐλογηθὲν, ἀπέδειξε πάλιν, πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς λέγων· Οὐ μὴ πῖω ἐκ τοῦ γεννήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου ταύτης, μέχρις ἂν πῖω αὐτὸ μεθ' ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς μου. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 520. n.)

*Pædag.* lib. i. cap. 6. ed. Potter. tom. i. p. 121. Ἀλλαχόθι δὲ καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἰωάννην Ἐυαγγελίῳ, ἐτέρως ἐξήνεγκεν διὰ συμβόλων· Φάγεσθέ μου τὰς σάρκας, εἰπὼν, καὶ πίεσθέ μου τὸ αἷμα· ἐναργὲς τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τὸ πότιμον ἀλληγορῶν, δι' ὧν ἡ Ἐκκλησία, καθάπερ ἄνθρωπος, ἐκ πολλῶν συνεστηκυῖα μελῶν, ἄρδεταί τε καὶ αἰξεται. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 373. n.)

*Pædag.* lib. ii. cap. 2. Καὶ τοῦτ' ἔστι πιεῖν τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, τῆς κυριακῆς μεταλαβεῖν ἀφθαρσίας. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 428. n.)

#### TERTULLIANUS. A. D. 192.

*Adversus Judæos*, ed. Prior. p. 196. Christus panem corpus suum appellans. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 374); *Answer to Gardynner*, (vol. iii. p. 75.)

*Adversus Marcion.* lib. i. §. xiv. ed. Prior. p. 372. Sed ille quidem usque nunc nec aquam reprobavit Creatoris, qua suos abluit; nec oleum, quo suos ungit; nec mellis et lactis societa-

tem, qua suos infantat; nec panem quo ipsum corpus suum representat. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 382.); *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. p. 239.)

*Ibid.* lib. iv. §. 40. ed. Prior. p. 457. Acceptum panem et distributum discipulis, corpus illum suum fecit, hoc est corpus meum dicendo, id est, figura corporis mei. Figura autem non fuisset, nisi veritatis esset corpus. Cæterum vacua res, quod est phantasma, figuram capere non posset. Aut si propterea panem corpus sibi finxit, quia corporis carebat veritate: ergo panem debuit tradere pro nobis. Faciebat ad vanitatem Marcionis, ut panis crucifigeretur. Cur autem panem corpus suum appellat, et non magis peponem, quem Marcion cordis loco habuit? non intelligens veterem fuisse istam figuram corporis Christi, dicentis per Hieremiam: *Adversus me cogitaverunt cogitatum dicentes, Venite conjiciamus lignum in panem ejus*; scilicet crucem in corpus ejus. Itaque illuminator antiquitatum quid tunc voluerit significasse panem satis declaravit, corpus suum vocans panem. *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. pp. 177. 179. 196. 199. 303. 305.)

*De Resurrectione Carnis*, §. viii. ed. Prior. p. 330. Videamus nunc de propria etiam Christiani nominis forma, quanta huic substantiæ frivolæ ac sordidæ, apud Deum prærogativa sit: etsi sufficeret illi, quod nulla omnino anima salutem possit adipisci, nisi, dum est in carne, crediderit: adeo caro salutis est cardo. Denique, cum anima Deo allegitur, ipsa est quæ efficit ut anima allegi possit. Scilicet caro abluitur, ut anima emaculetur. Caro ungitur, ut anima consecratur. Caro signatur, ut et anima muniat. Caro manus impositione adumbratur, ut et anima spiritu illuminetur. Caro corpore et sanguine Christi vescitur, ut et anima de Deo saginetur. Non possunt ergo separari in mercede, quas opera conjungit. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 403.); *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. p. 238.); *Disputations at Oxford*, (vol. iv. pp. 35. 39.)

#### ORIGENES. A. D. 230.

*In Matt. xv. Comment.* ed. Bened. tom. iii. p. 499. τὸ ἁγιαζόμενον βρῶμα διὰ λόγον θεοῦ καὶ ἐντεύξεως, κατ' αὐτὸ μὲν τὸ ὑλικὸν εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν χωρεῖ, καὶ εἰς ἀφεδρώνα ἐκβάλλεται· κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιγενομένην αὐτῷ εὐχὴν, κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως, ὠφέλιμον γίνεται, καὶ τῆς τοῦ νοῦ αἰτίου διαβλέψεως, ὁρῶντος ἐπὶ τὸ ὠφελοῦν· καὶ οὐχ ἡ ὕλη

τοῦ ἄρτου, ἀλλ' ὁ ἐπ' αὐτῷ εἰρημένος λόγος ἐστὶν ὁ ὠφελῶν τὸν μὴ ἀναξίως τοῦ κυρίου ἐσθίοντα αὐτόν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τοῦ τυπικοῦ καὶ συμβολικοῦ σώματος· πολλὰ δ' ἂν καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγοιτο τοῦ λόγου, δε γέγονε σὰρξ καὶ ἀληθινὴ βρώσις, ἣν τινα ὁ φαγὼν πάντως ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, οὐδενὸς δυναμένου φαῦλου ἐσθίειν αὐτήν· εἰ γὰρ οἷόν τε ἦν ἔτι φαῦλον μένοντα ἐσθίειν τὸν γενόμενον σάρκα, λόγον ὄντα, καὶ ἄρτον ζῶντα, οὐκ ἂν ἐγέγραπτο, ὅτι πᾶς ὁ φαγὼν τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. *Defence*, (vol. ii. pp. 321. 428.); *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. p. 410.)

*In Matt. Comment. Series*, tract. xxxiii. ed. Bened. tom. iii. p. 883. Secundum hanc divinitatis suæ naturam non peregrinatur, sed peregrinatur secundum dispensationem corporis quod suscepit. . . . Hæc autem dicentes non solvimus suscepti corporis hominem, cum sit scriptum apud Joannem: *Omnis spiritus qui solvit Jesum, non est ex Deo*: sed unicuique substantiæ proprietatem servamus. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 360.)

*In Levit. Hom. vii. ed. Bened. tom. ii. p. 225.* Agnoscite quia figuræ sunt quæ in divinis voluminibus scripta sunt, et ideo tanquam spirituales et non tanquam carnales examine et intelligite quæ dicuntur. Si enim quasi carnales ista suscipitis, lædunt vos et non alunt. Est enim et in Evangeliiis litera quæ occidit. Non solum in Veteri Testamento occidens literaprehenditur: est et in Novo Testamento litera, quæ occidat eum, qui non spiritaliter quæ dicuntur adverterit. Si enim secundum literam sequaris hoc ipsum quod dictum est: *Nisi manducaveritis carnem meam, et biberitis sanguinem meum, occidit hæc litera.* *Defence*, (vol. ii. pp. 378. 404.); *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. pp. 188. 239.)

*In Numeros, Hom. vii. ed. Bened. tom. ii. p. 289.* Vides quomodo ænigmata egis Paulus absolvit, et species ænigmatum docet, et dicit quia petra in ænigmate erat apud Moysem, antequam jungeretur huic nostræ Æthiopissæ. Nunc in specie petra Christus est. Nunc enim os ad os loquitur per legem Deus. Antea in ænigmate fuit baptismus in nube et in mari, nunc autem in specie regeneratio est in aqua et in Spiritu sancto. Tunc in ænigmate erat manna cibus, nunc autem in specie caro Verbi Dei est verus cibus, sicut et ipse dixit, quia *Caro mea vere est cibus, et sanguis meus vere est potus.* *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 404.); *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. pp. 239. 241.)

## CYPRIANUS. A. D. 248.

*Ad Cæcilium*, ed. Ben. epist. 63. p. 104. Nam cum dicat Christus, *Ego sum vitis vera*, sanguis Christi non aqua est utique, sed vinum. Nec potest videri sanguis ejus quod redempti et vivificati sumus, esse in calice, quando vinum desit calici, quo Christi sanguis ostenditur. . . . Ut ergo in Genesi per Melchisedech sacerdotem benedictio circa Abraham posset rite celebrari, præcedit ante imago sacrificii Christi, in pane et vino scilicet constituta; quam rem perficiens et adimplens Dominus panem et calicem mixtum vino obtulit, et qui est plenitudo veritatis veritatem præfiguratæ imaginis adimplevit. . . . Quomodo ad potandum vinum veniri non potest nisi botrus calcatur ante et prematur, sic nos nec sanguinem Christi possemus bibere, nisi Christus calcatus prius fuisset et pressus, et calicem prior biberet, in quo credentibus propinaret. . . . Calicem etenim sub die passionis accipiens benedixit et dedit discipulis suis dicens: *Bibite ex hoc omnes. Hic est enim sanguis novi testamenti, qui pro multis effunditur in remissionem peccatorum. Dico vobis, non bibam amodo ex ista creatura vitis usque in diem illum quo vobiscum bibam novum vinum in regno Patris mei.* Qua in parte invenimus calicem mixtum fuisse quem Dominus obtulit, et vinum fuisse quod sanguinem suum dixit. Unde apparet sanguinem Christi non offerri, si desit vinum calici. . . . Quomodo autem de creatura vitis novum vinum cum Christo in regno Patris bibemus, si in sacrificio Dei Patris et Christi vinum non offerimus, nec calicem Domini dominica traditione miscemus? . . . Videmus in aqua populum intelligi, in vino vero ostendi sanguinem Christi. Quando autem in calice vino aqua miscetur, Christo populus adunatur, et credentium plebs ei in quem credidit copulatur et conjungitur. . . . Nec corpus Domini potest esse farina sola aut aqua sola nisi utrumque adunatum fuerit et copulatum et panis unius compage solidatum. . . . Quomodo autem possumus propter Christum sanguinem fundere, qui sanguinem Christi erubescimus bibere? *Defence*, (vol. ii. pp. 322. 374. 382. 404.); *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. pp. 246. 411.)

*Ad Magnum*, ed. Bened. epist. 76. p. 153. Quando Dominus corpus suum panem vocat de multorum granorum adunatione congestum, populum nostrum quem portabat indicat adunatum; et quando sanguinem suum vinum appellat de botris at-

que acinis plurimis expressum atque in unum coactum, gregem item nostrum significat commixtione adunatæ multitudinis copulatum. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 374.); *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. p. 75.)

*Testimon. ad Quirinum*, lib. iii. cap. 94. ed. Bened. p. 326. Cum timore et honore eucharistiam accipiendam. In Levitico: *Anima autem quæcunque manducaverit ex carne sacrificii salutaris, quod est Domini, et immunditia ipsius super ipsum est, peribit anima illa de populo suo.* Item ad Corinthios prima: *Quicunque ederit panem, aut biberit calicem Domini indigne, reus erit corporis et sanguinis Domini.* *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. p. 249.)

<sup>a</sup> *De Unctione Chrismatis*, ed. Bened. p. cxxv. inter opera Arnoldi, Abbatis Bonæ Vallis. Dedit Dominus noster in mensa in qua ultimum cum Apostolis participavit convivium propriis manibus panem et vinum: in cruce vero manibus militum corpus tradidit vulnerandum; ut in Apostolis secretius impressa sincera veritas et vera sinceritas, exponeret gentibus quomodo vinum et panis caro esset et sanguis, et quibus rationibus causæ effectibus convenirent, et diversa nomina vel species ad unam reducerentur essentiam, et significantia et significata eisdem vocabulis censerentur. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 383.); *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. 431.)

*De Cæna Domini*, ed. Bened. p. cix. cxi. inter opera Arnoldi, Abbatis Bonæ Vallis. Immortalitatis alimonia datur, a communibus cibis differens, corporalis substantiæ retinens speciem, sed virtutis divinæ invisibili efficientia probans adesse præsentiam. . . . Panis iste communis in carnem et sanguinem mutatus, procurat vitam et incrementum corporibus: ideoque ex consueto rerum effectū fidei nostræ adjuncta infirmitas, sensibili argumento edocta est visibilibus sacramentis inesse vitæ æternæ effectum, et non tam corporali, quam spiritali transitione Christo nos uniri. Ipse enim et panis, et caro, et sanguis, idem cibus et substantia, ac vita factus est ecclesiæ suæ; quam corpus suum appellat, dans ei participationem Spiritus. *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. p. 481.)

*Ibid.* p. cxi. Panis iste quem Dominus discipulis porrigebat non effigie sed natura mutatus, omnipotentia verbi factus est caro: et sicut in persona Christi humanitas videbatur, et latebat divinitas; ita sacramento visibili ineffabiliter divina se infudit essentia, ut esset religioni circa sacramenta devotio, et ad veritatem cujus corpus et sanguis sacramenta sunt, sincerior pateret accessus, usque ad participationem Spiritus; non quod usque ad consubstantialitatem Christi, sed usque ad

<sup>a</sup> [The following extracts in a smaller type are from works, which, though formerly attributed to Cyprian, are now generally considered spurious. See edit. Bened.]

societatem germanissimam ejus hæc unitas pervenisset. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 339.); *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. pp. 177. 476. 478.)

*Ibid.* pp. cxiii. cxv. Dixerat sane hujus traditionis magister, quod nisi manducaremus ejus carnem, et biberemus ejus sanguinem, non haberemus vitam in nobis : spiritali nos instruens documento, et aperiens ad rem adeo abditam intellectum, ut sciremus quod mansio nostra in ipso sit manducatio, et potus quasi quædam incorporatio, subjectis obsequiis, voluntatibus junctis, affectibus unitis. Esus igitur carnis hujus quædam aviditas est, et quoddam desiderium manendi in ipso. . . . Una est domus Ecclesiæ, in qua agnus editur, nullus ei communicat, quem Israelitici nominis generositas non commendat. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 429.); *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. p. 69.)

*Ibid.* p. cxviii. Hanc Dei gratiam recolens, qui de sacro calice bibit, amplius sitit : et ad Deum vivum erigens desiderium ita singulari fame illo uno appetitu tenetur, ut deinceps fellea peccatorum horreat pocula, et omnis sapor delectamentorum carnalium sit ei quasi rancidum, radensque palatum acutæ mordacitatis acetum. Ad hæc inter sacra mysteria ad gratiarum actiones convertitur, et inclinato capite, munditia cordis adepta, se intelligens consummatum, restitutus peccator sanctificatam Deo animam quasi depositum custoditum fideliter reddit, et deinceps cum Paulo gloriatur et lætatur dicens : *Vivo jam non ego, vivit vero in me Christus*. Hæc in Christi commemoratione retractantur a fidelibus, et defæcatis animis carnis ejus edulium non est horrore, sed honori ; potuque sancti et sanctificantis sanguinis Spiritus delectantur. Hæc quoties agimus, non dentes ad mordendum acimus, sed fide sincera panem sanctum frangimus et partimur. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 427.)

#### ATHANASIUS. A. D. 326.

*Epist. IV. ad Serap. de Spiritu Sancti.* ed. Bened. tom. i. p. 710. Διὰ τοῦτο τῆς εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀναβάσεως ἐμνημόνευσε τοῦ εἰδού του ἀνθρώπου, ἵνα τῆς σωματικῆς ἐννοίας αὐτοὺς ἀφελέκῃ, καὶ λοιπὸν τὴν εἰρημένην σάρκα βρῶσιν ἄνωθεν οὐράνιον, καὶ πνευματικὴν τροφήν παρ' αὐτοῦ διδομένην μάθωσιν. Ὁ γὰρ λελάληκα, φησὶν, ὑμῖν, πνεῦμά ἐστι καὶ ζωή· ἴσον τῷ εἰπεῖν, τὸ μὲν δεκνύμενον καὶ διδόμενον ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου σωτηρίας, ἐστὶν ἡ σὰρξ ἣν ἐγὼ φορῶ· ἀλλ' αὕτη ὑμῖν καὶ τὸ ταύτης αἷμα παρ' ἐμοῦ πνευματικῶς δοθήσεται τροφή, ὥστε πνευματικῶς ἐν ἐκάστῳ ταύτην ἀναδίδωσθαι, καὶ γίνεσθαι πᾶσιν φυλακτήριον εἰς ἀνάστασιν ζωῆς αἰωνίου. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 429.)

#### HILARIUS. A. D. 354.

*De Trin.* lib. viii. §. 13. ed. Bened. p. 222. Si enim vere Verbum caro factum est, et vere nos Verbum carnem cibo domi-

nico sumimus : quomodo non naturaliter manere in nobis existimandus est, qui et naturam carnis nostræ jam inseparabilem sibi homo natus assumpsit, et naturam carnis suæ ad naturam æternitatis sub sacramento nobis communicandæ carnis admiscuit? Ita enim omnes unum sumus, quia et in Christo Pater est et Christus in nobis est. Quisquis ergo naturaliter Patrem in Christo negabit, neget prius non naturaliter vel se in Christo, vel Christum sibi inesse; quia in Christo Pater, et Christus in nobis, unum in his esse nos faciunt. Si vere igitur carnem corporis nostri Christus assumpsit et vere homo ille, qui ex Maria natus fuit, Christus est, nosque vere sub mysterio carnem corporis sui sumimus; (et per hoc unum erimus, quia Pater in eo est, et ille in nobis;) quomodo voluntatis unitas aperitur, cum naturalis per sacramentum proprietas, perfectæ sacramentum sit unitatis. *Defence*, (vol. ii. pp. 405. 408.); *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. pp. 249. 253.); *Disputation with Chedsey*, (vol. iv. pp. 40. 47.)

## EPIPHANIUS. A. D. 368.

*Adversus Hæreses*, lib. iii. §. xvi. ed. Petav. tom. i. p. 1098. *Anacephalæosis*, §. viii. ed. Petav. tom. ii. p. 154. Ἐνταῦθα ἐν Χριστῷ ἰσχυροποιουμένων τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ ἄρτου, καὶ τῆς τοῦ ὕδατος ἰσχύος· ἵνα οὐκ ἄρτος ἡμῖν γένηται δύναμις, ἀλλὰ δύναμις ἄρτου· καὶ βρώσις μὲν ὁ ἄρτος, ἡ δὲ δύναμις ἐν αὐτῷ εἰς ζωογόνησιν. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 324.); *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. pp. 419, 420.)

*Ancoratus*, §. 57. ed. Petav. tom. ii. p. 60. Ἀνέστη ἐν τῷ δείπνῳ, καὶ ἔλαβε τάδε· καὶ εὐχαριστήσας εἶπε, Τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τόδε· καὶ ὀρώμεν ὅτι οὐκ ἰσὸν ἐστίν, οὐδὲ ὅμοιον, οὐ τῇ ἐνσάρκῳ εἰκόνι, οὐ τῇ ἀοράτῳ θεότητι, οὐ τοῖς χαρακτῆρσι τῶν μελῶν· τὸ μὲν γάρ ἐστι στρογγυλοειδὲς καὶ ἀναίσθητον, ὡς πρὸς τὴν δύναμιν· καὶ ἠθέλησεν χάριτι εἰπεῖν, Τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τόδε. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 374.); *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. p. 75.)

## BASILIUS. A. D. 370.

*Epist. viii.* (al. 141.) ed. Bened. tom. iii. p. 84. Τρώγομεν αὐτοῦ τὴν σάρκα, καὶ πίνομεν αὐτοῦ τὸ αἷμα, κοινωνοὶ γινόμενοι διὰ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως καὶ τῆς αἰσθητῆς ζωῆς, τοῦ λόγου καὶ τῆς σοφίας· σάρκα γὰρ καὶ αἷμα, πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν μυστικὴν ἐπιδημίαν ὠνόμασε, καὶ τὴν ἐκ πρακτικῆς καὶ φυσικῆς καὶ θεολογικῆς συνεστῶσαν διδασκαλίαν ἐδήλωσε, δι' ἧς τρέφεται ψυχὴ, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὄντων τέως θεωρίαν παρασκευάζεται. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 430.)

## AMBROSIUS. A. D. 374.

*In Lucam*, lib. x. cap. 24. ed. Bened. tom. i. p. 1528. Non supra terram, nec in terra, nec secundum carnem te querere debemus, si volumus invenire; nunc enim secundum carnem jam non novimus Christum. Denique Stephanus non supra terram quæsit, qui stantem te ad dexteram Dei vidit. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 364.)

*De Mysteriis*<sup>q</sup>, cap. ix. ed. Bened. tom. ii. p. 338. Probemus non hoc esse quod natura formavit, sed quod benedictio consecravit: majoremque vim esse benedictionis quam naturæ; quia benedictione etiam natura ipsa mutatur.

Virgam tenebat Moyses, projecit eam, et facta est serpens. Rursusprehendit caudam serpentis, et in virgæ naturam revertit. Vides igitur prophetica gratia bis mutata esse naturam et serpentis et virgæ? Currebant Ægypti flumina puro aquarum meatu, subito de fontium venis sanguis cœpit erumpere; et non erat potus in fluviis. Rursus a prophetæ prece cruor cessavit fluminum, aquarum natura remeavit. Circumclusus undique erat populus Hebræorum, hinc Ægyptiis vallatus, inde mari clausus: virgam levavit Moyses, separavit se aqua, et in murorum specie congelavit, atque inter undas via pedestris apparuit. Jordanis retrorsum conversus contra naturam in sui fontis revertit exordium. Nonne claret naturam vel maritimorum fluctuum vel fluvialis cursus esse mutata? Sitiēbat populus patrum, tetigit Moyses petram, et aqua de petra fluxit. Numquid non præter naturam operata est gratia, ut aquam vomeret petra, quam non habebat natura? Merula fluvius amarissimus erat, ut sitiens populus bibere non posset. Misit Moyses lignum in aquam, et amaritudinem suam aquarum natura deposuit, quam infusa subito gratia temperavit. Sub Elisæo propheta uni ex filiis prophetarum excussum est ferrum de securi, et statim mersum est. Rogavit Elisæum, qui amiserat ferrum: misit etiam Elisæus lignum in aquam, et ferrum natavit. Utique et hoc præter naturam factum cognoscimus; gravior est enim ferri species quam aquarum liquor.

Advertimus igitur majoris esse virtutis gratiam quam naturam, et adhuc tamen propheticæ benedictionis numeramus gratiam? Quod si tantum valuit humana benedictio, ut naturam converteret; quid dicimus de ipsa consecratione divina, ubi verba ipsa domini Salvatoris operantur? Nam sacramentum istud quod accipis, Christi sermone conficitur. Quod si tantum valuit sermo Eliæ, ut ignem de cœlo deponeret: non valebit Christi sermo, ut species mutet elementorum? De

<sup>q</sup> [Respecting the spuriousness of the tracts attributed to Ambrose, *De Mysteriis* and *De Sacramentis*, see the works referred to, vol. ii. p. 326, note.]



totius mundi operibus legisti : *Quia ipse dixit, et facta sunt : ipse mandavit, et creata sunt* ; sermo ergo Christi qui potuit ex nihilo facere quod non erat, non potest ea quæ sunt, in id mutare, quod non erant ? Non enim minus est novas rebus dare, quam mutare naturas.

Sed quid argumentis utimur ? Suis utamur exemplis, incarnationisque exemplo adstruamus mysterii veritatem. Numquid naturæ usus præcessit, cum Jesus dominus ex Maria nasceretur ? Si ordinem quærimus, viro mixta femina generare consuevit. Liquet igitur quod præter naturæ ordinem virgo generavit. Et hoc quod conficimus corpus, ex virgine est : quid hic quæris naturæ ordinem in Christi corpore, cum præter naturam sit ipse dominus Jesus partus ex virgine ? . . . Vera utique caro Christi, quæ crucifixa est, quæ sepulta est : vere ergo carnis illius sacramentum est.

Ipse clamat dominus Jesus ; *Hoc est corpus meum*. Ante benedictionem verborum cœlestium alia species nominatur, post consecrationem corpus significatur. Ipse dicit sanguinem suum. Ante consecrationem aliud dicitur, post consecrationem sanguis nuncupatur. Et tu dicis : Amen, hoc est, verum est. Quod os loquitur, mens interna fateatur : quod sermo sonat, affectus sentiat. *Defence*, (vol. ii. pp. 326. 351. 383. 413. 431.) : *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. pp. 279. 423. 450. 486.) ; *Disputation with Chedsey*, (vol. iv. p. 52.)

*De Sacramentis*, lib. iv. cap. 4. ed. Bened. tom. ii. pp. 368, 369. Panis iste panis est ante verba sacramentorum ; ubi accesserit consecratio, de pane fit caro Christi. Hoc igitur adstruamus. Quomodo potest qui panis est, corpus esse Christi ? Consecratione. Consecratio autem quibus verbis est, et cujus sermonibus ? Domini Jesu. Nam reliqua omnia quæ dicuntur in superioribus, a sacerdote dicuntur, laudes Deo deferuntur, oratio petitur pro populo, pro regibus, pro cæteris : ubi venit ut conficiatur venerabile sacramentum, jam non suis sermonibus utitur sacerdos, sed utitur sermonibus Christi. Ergo sermo Christi hoc conficit sacramentum.

Quis est sermo Christi ? Nempe is quo facta sunt omnia. Jussit Dominus, et factum est cœlum : jussit Dominus, et facta est terra : jussit Dominus, et facta sunt maria. Jussit Dominus, et omnis creatura generata est. Vides ergo quam operatorius sit sermo Christi. Si ergo tanta vis est in sermone domini Jesu, ut inciperent esse quæ non erant, quanto magis operatorius est ut sint quæ erant, et in aliud commutentur : Cœlum non erat, mare non erat ; sed audi dicentem David : *Ipse dixit, et facta sunt : ipse mandavit, et creata sunt*. Ps. cxlviii.

Ergo tibi ut respondeam, non erat corpus Christi ante consecrationem : sed post consecrationem dico tibi quia jam corpus est Christi. Ipse dixit, et factum est ; ipse mandavit, et creatum est. Tu ipse eras, sed eras vetus creatura : postea quam consecratus es, nova creatura esse cœpisti. Vis scire quam nova creatura ? *Omnis*, inquit, in 2 Cor. v. 17.

*Christo nova creatura. Defence*, (vol. ii. pp. 326. 351. 383. 413. 431.); *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. pp. 280. 423.); *Disputation with Chedsey*, (vol. iv. pp. 53. 56.)

### DIDYMUS. A. D. 370.

*De Spiritu Sancto*, lib. i. ad calcem Hieron. ed. Villars, tom. ii. p. 105. Ipse Spiritus sanctus, si unus de creaturis esset, saltem circumscriptam haberet substantiam, sicut universa quæ facta sunt. Nam etsi non circumscribantur loco et finibus invisibiles creaturæ, tamen proprietate substantiæ finiuntur. Spiritus autem sanctus, cum in pluribus sit, non habet substantiam circumscriptam. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 366.)

### HIERONYMUS. A. D. 378.

*Ad Hedibiam*, Quæst. 2. ed. Vallars. tom. i. p. 818. Nos audiamus panem quem fregit Dominus, deditque discipulis suis, esse corpus Domini Salvatoris, ipso dicente ad eos: *Accipite et comedite: hoc est corpus meum*: et calicem illum esse, de quo iterum locutus est: *Bibite ex hoc omnes: hic enim est sanguis meus novi Testamenti, qui pro multis effundetur, &c.* Iste est calix, de quo in propheta legimus: *Calicem salutaris accipiam* et alibi: *Calix tuus inebrians quam præclarus est.* *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 374.); *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. p. 75.)

*In Epist. ad Titum*, cap. i. ver. 8, 9. ed. Vallars. tom. vii. p. 712. Tantum interest inter propositionis panes et corpus Christi, quantum inter umbram et corpora, inter imaginem et veritatem, inter exemplaria futurorum, et ea ipsa quæ per exemplaria præfigurabantur. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 419.); *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. p. 302. 304.)

*In Isai.* cap. 66. ver. 17. ed. Vallars. tom. iv. p. 816. Omnes voluptatis magis amatores quam amatores Dei . . . nec comedunt carnem Jesu, neque bibunt sanguinem ejus: de quo ipse loquitur: *Qui comedit carnem meam, et bibit sanguinem meum, habet vitam æternam.* *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 430.); *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. p. 342.)

*In Malach.* cap. i. v. 9. ed. Vallars. tom. vi. pp. 948, 949. Dum sacramenta violantur, ipse, cujus sunt sacramenta, violatur . . . Polluimus panem, id est, corpus Christi, quando indigni accedimus ad altare, et sordidi mundum sanguinem bibimus, et dicimus, mensa Domini despecta est.

*Ibid.* cap. ii. v. 10. ed. Vallars. tom. vi. p. 365. Polluit Christi mysteria indigne accipiens corpus ejus et sanguinem. *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. pp. 337. 341.)

*In Ephes.* cap. i. v. 7. ed. Vallars. tom. vii. p. 553. Dupliciter vero sanguis Christi et caro intelligitur: vel spiritualis illa atque divina, de qua ipse dixit: *Caro mea vere est cibus, et sanguis meus vere est potus*: et, *Nisi manducaveritis carnem meam, et sanguinem meum biberitis, non habebitis vitam æternam*; vel caro et sanguis quæ crucifixa est, et qui militis effusus est lancea. Juxta hanc divisionem et in sanctis ejus diversitas sanguinis et carnis accipitur, ut alia sit caro quæ visura est salutare Dei, alia caro et sanguis quæ regnum Dei non queant possidere. *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. p. 350.)

#### AUGUSTINUS. A. D. 396.

*Ad Infantes*, ed. Bened. Serm. 272. tom. v. p. 1103. Quod videtis, panis est et calix, quod vobis etiam oculi vestri renuntiant: quod autem fides vestra postulat instruenda, panis est corpus Christi, calix sanguis Christi. . . . Quomodo est panis corpus ejus? et calix, vel quod habet calix, quomodo est sanguis ejus? Ista, fratres, ideo dicuntur sacramenta, quia in eis aliud videtur, aliud intelligitur. Quod videtur speciem habet corporalem, quod intelligitur, fructum habet spiritalem. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 327.); *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. p. 425.)

*Ad Dardanum*, ed. Bened. epist. 187. tom. ii. pp. 681. 692. Noli itaque dubitare ibi nunc esse hominem Christum Jesum, unde venturus est; memoriterque recale et fideliter tene Christianam confessionem, quoniam resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit in cœlum, sedet ad dexteram Patris, nec aliunde quam inde venturus est ad vivos mortuosque judicandos. Et sic venturus est, illa angelica voce testante, quemadmodum ire visus est in cœlum, id est, in eadem carnis forma atque substantia; cui profecto immortalitatem dedit, naturam non abstulit. Secundum hanc formam non est putandus ubique diffusus. Cavendum est enim, ne ita divinitatem adstruamus hominis ut veritatem corporis auferamus. . . . Una enim persona Deus et homo est, et utrumque est unus Christus Jesus, ubique per id quod Deus est, in cœlo autem per id quod homo. . . . Ubique totum præsentem esse non dubites tanquam Deum, et in eodem templo Dei esse

tanquam inhabitantem Deum, et in loco aliquo cœli propter veri corporis modum. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 361.); *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. p. 291.)

*Ibid.* ed. Bened. tom. ii. p. 683. Spatia locorum tolle corporibus, nusquam erunt, et quia nusquam, nec erunt. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 365.)

*De Trinit.* lib. iii. cap. 4. ed. Bened. tom. viii. p. 798. Apostolus Paulus . . . potuit significando prædicare Dominum Jesum Christum, aliter per linguam suam, aliter per epistolam, aliter per sacramentum corporis et sanguinis ejus : nec linguam quippe ejus, nec membranas, nec atramentum, nec significantes sonos lingua editos, nec signa litterarum conscripta pelliculis, corpus Christi et sanguinem dicimus ; sed illud tantum quod ex fructibus terræ acceptum et prece mystica consecratum rite sumimus ad salutem spiritalem in memoriam pro nobis Dominicæ passionis. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 374.)

*De Doctrina Christiana*, lib. iii. cap. 4. ed. Bened. tom. iii. p. 47. Rarissime et difficillime inveniri potest ambiguitas in propriis verbis, quantum ad libros divinarum Scripturarum spectat, quod non aut circumstantia ipsa sermonis qua cognoscitur scriptorum intentio, aut interpretum collatio, aut præcedentis lingue solvat inspectio. Sed verborum translatorum ambiguitates de quibus deinceps loquendum est, non mediocrem curam industriamque desiderant. Nam in principio cavendum est, ne figuratam locutionem ad litteram accipias.

*Ibid.* p. 49. Huic autem observationi qua cavemus figuratam locutionem, id est translatam quasi propriam æqui, adjungenda etiam illa est, ne propriam quasi figuratam velimus accipere. Demonstrandus est igitur prius modus inveniendæ locutionis, propriane an figurata sit. Et iste omnino modus est, ut quidquid in sermone divino neque ad morum honestatem neque ad fidei veritatem proprie referri potest, figuratam esse cognoscas.

*Ibid.* p. 52. Si præceptiva locutio est aut flagitium aut facinus vetans, aut utilitatem aut beneficentiam jubens, non est figurata. Si autem flagitium aut facinus videtur jubere, aut utilitatem aut beneficentiam vetare, figurata est. *Nisi manducaveritis*, inquit, *carnem filii hominis et sanguinem biberitis, non habebitis vitam in vobis*. Facinus vel flagitium videtur jubere : figura est ergo, præcipiens passioni Dominicæ communicandum, et suaviter atque utiliter recondendum in memoria, quod pro

nobis caro ejus crucifixa et vulnerata sit. *Defence*, (vol. ii. pp. 379. 434.); *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. p. 68.)

*Ibid.* pp. 48, 49. Sub signo servit qui operatur aut veneratur aliquam rem significantem, nesciens quid significet: qui vero aut operatur aut veneratur utile signum divinitus institutum, cujus vim significationemque intelligit, non hoc veneratur quod videtur et transit, sed illud potius quo talia cuncta referenda sunt. . . . Hoc tempore posteaquam resurrectione Domini nostri manifestissimum indicium nostræ libertatis illuxit, nec eorum quidem signorum, quæ jam intelligimus, operatione gravi onerati sumus, sed quædam pauca pro multis, eademque factu facillima, et intellectu augustissima et observatione castissima ipse Dominus et apostolica tradidit disciplinā: sicuti est baptismi Sacramentum, et celebratio corporis et sanguinis Domini. Quæ unusquisque cum percipit, quo referantur imbutus agnoscit, ut ea non carnali servitute, sed spiritali potius libertate veneretur. *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. p. 208.)

*Ad Bonifacium*, ed. Bened. tom. ii. p. 267. Sæpe ita loquimur, ut Pascha propinquant dicamus, crastinam vel perendinam Domini passionem, cum ille ante tam multos annos passus sit, nec omnino nisi semel illa passio facta sit. Nempe ipso dominico die dicimus, Hodie Dominus resurrexit; cum ex quo resurrexit tot anni transierint. Cur nemo tam ineptus est, ut nos ita loquentes arguat esse mentitos, nisi quia istos dies secundum illorum, quibus hæc gesta sunt similitudinem nuncupamus, ut dicatur ipse dies qui non est ipse, sed revolutione temporis similis ejus: et dicatur illo die fieri propter sacramenti celebrationem, quod non illo die, sed jam olim factum est? Nonne semel immolatus est Christus in se ipso, et tamen in sacramento non solum per omnes Paschæ solemnitates, sed omni die populis immolatur, nec utique mentitur, qui interrogatus responderit eum immolari? Si enim sacramenta quandam similitudinem earum rerum quarum sacramenta sunt, non haberent, omnino sacramenta non essent. Ex hac autem similitudine plerumque etiam ipsarum rerum nomina accipiunt. Sicut ergo secundum quendam modum sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est, sacramentum sanguinis Christi sanguis Christi est, ita sacramentum fidei fides est. Nihil est autem aliud credere quam fidem habere. Ac per hoc cum respondetur parvulus credere, qui fidei nondum habet affectum, respondetur fidem habere prop-

ter fidei sacramentum, et convertere se ad Deum propter conversionis sacramentum, quia et ipsa responsio ad celebrationem pertinet sacramenti. Sicut de ipso baptismo Apostolus, *Consepulti*, inquit, *sumus Christo per baptismum in mortem*. Non ait, sepulturam significavimus: sed prorsus ait, *Consepulti sumus*. Sacramentum ergo tantæ rei non nisi ejusdem rei vocabulo nuncupavit. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 384.); *Answer to Gardyner*, vol. iii. pp. 201. 203. 339.)

*Super Levitic. Quæst. 57. ed. Bened. tom. iii. p. 516.* Solet autem res quæ significat, ejus rei nomine quam significat, nuncupari; sicut scriptum est: *Septem spicæ septem anni sunt*: non enim dixit, septem annos significat: et *Septem boves septem anni sunt*: et multa hujusmodi. Hinc est quod dictum est, *Petra erat Christus*. Non enim dixit, Petra significat Christum, sed tanquam hoc esset, quod utique per substantiam non hoc erat, sed per significationem. Sic et sanguis, quoniam propter vitalem quandam corpulentiam animam significat, in sacramentis anima dictus est. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 386.)

*Contra Adimantum*, cap. 12. ed. Bened. tom. viii. p. 126. Sic est sanguis anima, quomodo petra erat Christus . . . nec tamen ait, Petra significabat Christum; sed ait, *Petra erat Christus*.

*Ibid. p. 124.* Possum interpretari præceptum illud in signo esse positum. Non enim Dominus dubitavit dicere, *Hoc est corpus meum*: cum signum daret corporis sui. *Defence*, (vol. iii. p. 387.)

*Contra Maximinum*, lib. iii. cap. 22. ed. Bened. tom. viii. p. 725. Hæc sacramenta sunt, in quibus non quid sint, sed quid ostendunt, semper attenditur: quoniam signa sunt rerum, aliud existentia et aliud significantia. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 387.)

*De Verbis Domini*, Serm. 33. ed. Bened. tom. v. p. 566. Noli parare fauces, sed cor. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 428.)

*In Joan. Tract. 25. ed. Bened. tom. iii. pars ii. p. 489.* Quid paras dentes et ventrem? Crede et manducasti. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 428.)

*Ibid. Tract. 26. ed. Bened. tom. iii. pars ii. p. 500.* Qui ergo non manducat ejus carnem, nec bibit ejus sanguinem, non habet in se vitam: et qui manducat ejus carnem, et bibit ejus sanguinem, habet vitam. Ad utrumque autem respondet quod dixit æternam. Non ita est in hac esca quam sustentandæ hujus temporalis vitæ causa sumimus. Nam qui eam non sumpserit,

non vivet; nec tamen qui eam sumpserit vivet. Fieri enim potest, ut senio, vel morbo, vel aliquo casu, plurimi et qui eam sumpserint moriantur. In hoc cibo et potu, id est corpore et sanguine Domini, non ita est. Nam et qui eam non sumit non habet vitam: et qui eam sumit, habet vitam, et hanc utique æternam. Hunc itaque cibum et potum societatem vult intelligi corporis et membrorum suorum, quod est sancta Ecclesia in prædestinatis et vocatis et justificatis et glorificatis sanctis et fidelibus ejus. . . . Hujus rei sacramentum, id est, unitatis corporis et sanguinis Christi, alicubi quotidie, alicubi certis intervallis dierum in dominica mensa præparatur, et de mensa dominica sumitur quibusdam ad vitam, quibusdam ad exitium: res vero ipsa, cujus sacramentum est, omni homini ad vitam, nulli ad exitium, quicumque ejus particeps fuerit. . . . Hoc est ergo manducare illam escam et illum bibere potum, in Christo manere et illum manentem in se habere. Ac per hoc qui non manet in Christo, et in quo non manet Christus, procul dubio nec manducat [spiritaliter] carnem ejus, nec bibit ejus sanguinem, [licet carnaliter et visibiliter premat dentibus sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Christi]: sed magis tantæ rei sacramentum ad judicium sibi manducat et bibit. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 432.)

*Ibid.* Tract. 27. ed. Bened. tom. iii. pars ii. p. 502. Est [sermo] de corpore Domini, quod dicebat se dare ad manducandum propter æternam vitam. Exposuit autem modum adtributionis hujus et doni sui, quomodo daret carnem suam manducare, dicens, *Qui manducat carnem meam, et bibit sanguinem meum, in me manet, et ego in illo*. Signum quia manducavit et bibit, hoc est, si manet et manetur, si habitat et inhabitatur, si hæret ut non deseratur. Hoc ergo nos docuit et admonuit mysticis verbis, ut simus in ejus corpore sub ipso capite in membris ejus, edentes carnem ejus, non relinquentes unitatem ejus. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 433.)

*Ibid.* p. 504. Quid est *Spiritus et vita sunt*? Spiritaliter intelligenda sunt. Intellexisti spiritaliter? *spiritus et vita sunt*. Intellexisti carnaliter? etiam sic illa *spiritus et vita sunt* sed tibi non sunt. *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. p. 321.)

*Ibid.* Tract. 30. ed. Bened. tom. iii. pars ii. p. 517. Sursum est Dominus: sed etiam hic est veritas Dominus. Corpus enim Domini in quo resurrexit uno loco esse potest: veritas ejus ubique diffusa est. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 362.)

*Ibid.* Tract. 50. ed. Bened. tom. iii. pars ii. p. 634. Loquebatur de præsentia corporis sui. Nam secundum majestatem suam, secundum providentiam, secundum ineffabilem et invisibilem gratiam, impletur quod ab eo dictum est: *Ecce ego vobiscum sum usque in consummationem sæculi*. Secundum carnem vero quam Verbum assumpsit, secundum id quod de virgine natus est, secundum id quod a Judæis prehensus est, quod ligno confixus, quod in cruce depositus, quod linteis involutus, quod in sepulcro conditus, quod in resurrectione manifestatus, *non semper habebitis vobiscum*. Quare? Quoniam conversatus est secundum corporis præsentiam quadraginta diebus cum discipulis suis, et eis deducantibus videndo non sequendo, adscendit in coelum, et non est hic. Ibi est enim, sedet ad dexteram Patris: et hic est, non enim recessit præsentia majestatis. Aliter: secundum præsentiam majestatis semper habemus Christum: secundum præsentiam carnis, recte dictum est discipulis, *Me autem non semper habebitis*. Habuit enim illum Ecclesia secundum præsentiam carnis paucis diebus: modo fide tenet, oculis non videt. Ergo sive ita dictum est, *Me autem non semper habebitis*, quæstio sicut arbitror jam nulla est quæ duobus modis soluta est. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 362.)

*Ibid.* Tract. 59. ed. Bened. tom. iii. pars ii. p. 663. Illi manducabant panem Dominum, ille panem Domini contra Dominum; illi vitam, ille poenam. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 434.); *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. p. 338.)

*De Civitate Dei*, lib. xxi. cap. 25. ed. Bened. tom. vii. p. 646. Denique ipse dicens: *Qui manducat carnem meam, et bibit sanguinem meum, in me manet, et ego in eo*; ostendit quid sit non sacramento tenus, sed re vera corpus Christi manducare, et ejus sanguinem bibere: hoc est enim in Christo manere, ut in illo maneat et Christus. Sic enim hoc dixit, tanquam diceret, *Qui non in me manet, et in quo ego non maneo, non se dicat aut existimet manducare corpus meum, aut bibere sanguinem meum*. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 432.); *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. pp. 324. 327.)

*Ibid.* lib. x. cap. v. ad fin. Illud quod ab hominibus appellatur sacrificium, signum est veri sacrificii. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 458.)

*De Verbis Apostoli*, Serm. 2. ed. Bened. tom. v. p. 641. Illud manducare refici est: . . . illud bibere quid est nisi vivere?



Manduca vitam, bibe vitam : habebis vitam et integra est vita. Tunc autem hoc erit, id est, vita unicuique erit corpus et sanguis Christi ; si quod in sacramento visibiliter sumitur, in ipsa veritate spiritaliter manducetur, spiritaliter bibatur. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 434.) ; *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. p. 317.)

*Contra Cresconium*, lib. i. cap. 25. Quamvis ipse Dominus dicat, *Nisi quis manducaverit carnem meam et biberit sanguinem meum non habebit in se vitam* : nonne Apostolus docet etiam hoc perniciosum male utentibus fieri ? Ait enim : *Quicumque manducaverit panem, et biberit calicem Domini indigne, reus erit corporis et sanguinis Domini*. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 438.)

*De Baptism. contra Donat.* ed. Bened. tom. ix. p. 146. Sicut Judas cum buccellam tradidit Dominus, non malum accipiendo sed male accipiendo locum in se diabolo præbuit : sic indigne quisque sumens Dominicum sacramentum non efficit, ut quia ipse malus est, malum sit, aut quia non ad salutem accipit, nihil acceperit. Corpus enim Domini et sanguis Domini nihilo minus erat etiam illis quibus dicebat Apostolus : *Qui manducat indigne judicium sibi manducat et bibit*. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 440.) ; *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. pp. 334. 338.)

*In Psalm. xcvi. ed. Bened. tom. iv. p. 1065.* Nemo illam carnem manducat, nisi prius adoraverit : inventum est quemadmodum adoretur tale scabellum pedum Domini, et non solum non peccemus adorando, sed peccemus non adorando.

*Ibid. p. 1066.* *Spiritus est qui vivificat, caro autem nihil prodest : verba quæ locutus sum vobis, spiritus est et vita.* Spiritaliter intelligite quod locutus sum : non hoc corpus quod videtis manducaturi estis ; et bibituri illum sanguinem quem fusuri sunt qui me crucifigent. Sacramentum aliquod vobis commendavi, spiritaliter intellectum vivificabit vos. Etsi necesse est illud visibiliter celebrari, oportet tamen invisibiliter intelligi. *Defence*, (vol. ii. pp. 443, 444.) ; *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. pp. 348, 349.)

*Contra literas Petil.* lib. ii. cap. 37. ed. Bened. tom. ix. p. 246. Nolite ex hominum moribus et factis divina sacramenta pensare. Illa enim per eum sancta sunt cujus sunt : sed digne tractata afferunt præmium, indigne autem tractata judicium. Et quamvis unum non sint qui Dei sacramentum digne et qui indigne tractaverint : unum est tamen illud, sive digne sive indigne tractetur, non ut ipsum melius vel deterius fiat, sed ad vitam

mortemve tractantium. *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. 125. 127.)

*In Serm. Domini in Monte*, lib. ii. ed. Bened. tom. iii. pars ii. p. 299. Panis quotidianus aut pro iis omnibus dictum est, quæ hujus vitæ necessitatem sustentant ; aut pro sacramento corporis Christi quod quotidie accipimus ; aut pro spiritali cibo de quo idem Dominus dicit, *Operamini escam quæ non corrumpitur* : et illud, *Ego sum panis vitæ, qui de cælo descendi*. *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. p. 318.)

*Ibid.* lib. ii. ed. Bened. tom. iii. pars ii. p. 210. Si quis etiam de victu corporis necessario, vel de sacramento Dominici corporis istam sententiam vult accipere, oportet ut conjuncte accipiantur omnia tria, ut scilicet quotidianum panem simul petamus, et necessarium corpori, et <sup>¶</sup> sacratum visibilem, et invisibilem verbi Dei. *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. pp. 312. 318.)

*De Essentia Divinitatis*, ed. Bened. tom. viii. App. p. 72. Eundem Dei Filium secundum substantiam divinitatis suæ invisibilem et incorporeum et immortalem atque incircumscriptum, sicut et Patrem et Spiritum Sanctum credere et confiteri oportet : juxta humanitatem vero, visibilem, corporeum, localem atque omnia membra humana veraciter habentem credere convenit et confiteri. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 362.)

*Lib. Sentent. Prosp.* 339. ed. Bened. tom. x. App. p. 247. Qui discordat a Christo, nec carnem ejus manducat, nec sanguinem bibit : etiam si tantæ rei sacramentum ad judicium suæ præsumptionis quotidie indifferenter accipiat. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 431.)

### CHRYSOStOMUS. A. D. 398.

*In Matt.* cap. xxvi. Hom. lxxxii. (al. 83.) ed. Bened. tom. vii. p. 784. Τίως ἔνεκεν οὐχ ὕδωρ ἔπιεν ἀναστὰς, ἀλλ' οἶνον ; ἀλλην αἵρεσιν πονηρὰν πρόβριζον ἀνασπῶν. ἐπειδὴ γάρ τινες εἰσιν ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις ὕδατι κεχρημένοι, δεικνὺς ὅτι ἥνικα τὰ μυστήρια παρέδωκεν οἶνον παρέδωκε, καὶ ἥνικα ἀναστὰς χωρὶς μυστηρίων ψιλὴν τράπεζαν παρείθετο, οἶνω ἐκέχρητο ἐκ τοῦ γεννήματος, φησι, τῆς ἀμπέλου. ἄμπελος δὲ οἶνον οὐχ ὕδωρ γενᾶ. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 324.) ; *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. p. 420.)

*Ibid.* p. 788. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἤρκεσεν αὐτῷ τὸ γένεσθαι ἀνθρώπων, οὐδὲ τὸ ραπισθῆναι καὶ σφαγῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀναφύρει ἑαυτὸν ἡμῖν, καὶ οὐ τῇ πίστει μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ πράγματι σῶμα ἡμᾶς αὐτοῦ κατασκευάζει. τίως οὖν οὐκ ἔδει καθαρώτερον εἶναι τὸν ταύτης ἀπολαύοντα τῆς

<sup>¶</sup> Sic plerique MSS. at editi, *et sacramentum visibile et invisibile verbi Dei.*

θυσίας ; ποίας ἡλιακῆς ἀκτίνος τὴν χεῖρα τὴν ταύτην διατέμνουσαν τὴν σάρκα, τὸ στόμα τὸ πληρούμενον πυρὸς πνευματικοῦ, τὴν γλῶσσαν τὴν φοιτισσομένην αἵματι φρικωδεστάτῳ ; ἐννοήσον ποῖαν ἐτιμήθης τιμὴν ; ποίας ἀπολαύεις τραπέζης ; ὅπερ οἱ ἄγγελοι βλέποντες φρίττουσι, καὶ οὐδὲ ἀντιβλέψαι τολμῶσιν ἀδεῶς διὰ τὴν ἐκείθεν ἐκφερομένην ἀστραπὴν, τούτῳ ἡμεῖς τρεφόμεθα, τούτῳ ἀναφυρόμεθα, καὶ γεγόναμεν ἡμεῖς Χριστοῦ σῶμα ἐν καὶ σὰρξ μία. τίς λαλήσει τὰς δυναστείας τοῦ κυρίου ; Ps. cv. ἀκουστὰς ποιήσει πάσας τὰς αἰνέσεις αὐτοῦ ; τίς ποιμὴν τοῖς οἰκείοις μέλεσι τρέφει τὰ πρόβατα ; καὶ τί λέγω, ποιμὴν, μητέρες πολλάκις εἰσιν, αἱ μετὰ τὰς ὠδῖνας ἐτέραις ἐκδιδόσιν τροφοῖς τὰ παιδιά. αὐτὸς δὲ τοῦτ' οὐκ ἠνέσχετο, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς τρέφει οἰκεῖφ αἵματι, καὶ διὰ πάντων ἡμᾶς ἑαυτῷ συμπλέκει. *Disputation with Chedsey*, (vol. iv. pp. 28, 29.)

*Ad Caesarium Monachum*, ed. Bened. tom. iii. p. 743. Deum ergo quando dicis, dilectissime, agnovisti id quod simplex est naturæ, quod incompositum, quod inconvertibile, quod invisibile, quod immortale, quod incircumscribibile, quod incomprehensibile, et istis similia. Hominem autem dicens, significasti quod naturæ est infirmum, esuritionem, sitim, super Lazarum lacrymas, metum, sudoris ejectionem, et his similia, quibus id quod divinum est extra est. Christum autem quando dicis, conjunxisti utrumque : unde et passibilis dicatur idem ipse et impassibilis : passibilis quidem carne ; impassibilis autem deitate. . . . . Et Deus et homo Christus. Deus propter impassibilitatem, homo propter passionem. Unus filius, unus Dominus, idem ipse procul dubio unitarum naturarum unam dominationem, unam potestatem possidens, etiamsi non consubstantiales<sup>r</sup> existunt, et unaquæque incommixtam<sup>r</sup> proprietatis conservat agnitionem, propter hoc quod inconfusa sunt duo. Sicut enim antequam sanctificetur panis, panem nominamus : divina autem illum sanctificante gratia, mediante sacerdote, liberatus est quidem ab appellatione panis ; dignus autem habitus Dominici corporis appellatione, etiamsi natura panis in ipso permansit, et non duo corpora, sed unum corpus Filii prædicamus ; sic et hic divina ἐνδιρυσάσης, id est, insidente corpori natura, unum Filium, unam personam utraque hæc fecerunt.

<sup>r</sup> [Peter Martyr reads " consubstantialiter" and " incommixta," *Defens. de Eucharist.* p. 368. (edit. 1562.) : but at p. 285, where he cites the same passage, he reads " consubstantiales."]

Χριστὸν δὲ ὅταν εἴπῃς συνήψας ἑκάτερα· ὅθεν καὶ παθητὸς λέγοιτο ἂν ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ ἀπαθής· παθητὸς μὲν σαρκί, ἀπαθής δὲ θεότητι.

Οὕτω καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῆς θείας ἐνιδρυμένης τῇ σώματι φύσεως, ἕνα υἱόν, ἐν πρόσωπον τὸ συναμφότερον ἀπετέλεσεν<sup>\*</sup>. *Defence*, (vol. ii. pp. 325. 330.) ; *Answer to Gardynner*, (vol. iii. pp. 421. 440.)

*De Pœnitentia*, Hom. ix. ed. Bened. tom. ii. p. 349. Τί ποιεῖς, ἄνθρωπε ; οὐχ ὑπέσχου τῇ ἱερῇ εἰπόντι, ἄνω σχῶμεν ἡμῶν τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὰς καρδίας, καὶ εἰπας, ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν κύριον ; οὐ φοβῇ, οὐκ ἐρυθρίῃς κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν φοβερὰν ὥραν ψεύστης εὐρισκόμενος ; βαβαὶ τοῦ θαύματος. τῆς τραπέζης τῆς μυστικῆς ἐξηρτισμένης, τοῦ ἀμνου τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑπὲρ σοῦ σφαγιαζομένου, τοῦ ἱερέως ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἀγωνιζομένου, πυρὸς πνευματικοῦ ἐκ τῆς ἀχράντου ἀναβλύζοντος τραπέζης, τῶν χερουβὶμ παρισταμένων, καὶ τῶν σεραφὶμ ἱπταμένων, τῶν ἐξαπτερόγων τὰ πρόσωπα κατακαλυπτόντων, πασῶν τῶν ἀσωμάτων δυναμένων μετὰ τοῦ ἱερέως ὑπὲρ σοῦ πρεσβευουσῶν, τοῦ πυρὸς τοῦ πνευματικοῦ κατερχομένου, τοῦ αἵματος ἐν τῇ κρατῇ εἰς σὴν κάθαρσιν ἐκ τῆς ἀχράντου πλευρᾶς κενουμένου, οὐ φοβῇ, οὐκ ἐρυθρίῃς καὶ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν φοβερὰν ὥραν ψεύστης εὐρισκόμενος ; ἑκατὸν ἐξήκοντα ὀκτὼ ὥρας ἐχούσης τῆς ἑβδομάδος, μίαν καὶ μόνην ὥραν ἀφώρισεν ἑαυτῇ ὁ Θεός· καὶ ταύτην εἰς πράγματα βιωτικά καὶ εἰς γελοῖα καὶ εἰς συντυχίας ἀναλίσκει ; μετὰ ποίας λοιπὸν παρρησίας τοῖς μυστηρίοις προσέρχῃ ; μετὰ ποίου συνειδότος μεμολυσμένου ; *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 357.)

*Ibid.* Hom. ix. ed. Bened. tom. ii. p. 356. Μὴ ὅτι ἄρτος ἐστὶν Ἰῆς, μὴ<sup>δ</sup> ὅτι οἶνός ἐστι νομίσῃς. οὐ γὰρ ὡς αἱ λοιπαὶ βρώσεις εἰς ἀφεδρώνα χωρεῖ. ἄπαγε, μὴ τοῦτο νόει. ἀλλ' ὥσπερ κηρὸς πυρὶ προσομιλήσας οὐδὲν ἀπουσιάζει, οὐδὲν περισσεύει· οὕτω καὶ ὧδε νόμιζε συναλίσκεσθαι τὰ μυστήρια τῇ τοῦ σώματος οὐσίᾳ. διὸ καὶ προσερχόμενοι, μὴ ὡς ἐξ ἀνθρώπου νομίσῃτε μεταλαμβάνειν τοῦ θείου σώματος, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν σεραφὶμ τῇ λαβίδι τοῦ πυρὸς, ἥνπερ Ἡσαΐας εἶδε, τοῦ θείου σώματος μεταλαμβάνειν νομίζετε, καὶ ὡς τῆς θείας καὶ ἀχράντου πλευρᾶς ἐφαπτόμενοι τοῖς χεῖλεσιν, οὕτω τοῦ σωτηρίου αἵματος μεταλάβωμεν. τοιγαροῦν, ἀδελφοί, τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν μὴ ἀπολειπώμεθα, μήτε πάλιν ἐν αὐταῖς συντυχίαις ἑαυτοὺς ἀσχολῶμεν· στῶμεν ἔμφοβοι καὶ ἔντρομοι, κάτω νέοντες τὸ ὄμμα, ἄνω δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν· στενάζοντες ἀφάνως ἀλαλάζωμεν τῇ καρδίᾳ. *Defence*, (vol. ii. pp. 341. 415.) ; *Answer to Gardynner*, (vol. iii. pp. 286. 288. 483, 484.)

<sup>\*</sup> [The above are the only portions of this passage extant in Greek ; the first having been preserved by Anastasius, the second by Jo. Damascene and Nicephorus. See *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 325.) ; and in addition to the works there referred to, see *Script. Eccles. Opuscula*, Routh, p. 479.]

*In Epist. ad Cor.* Hom. vii. ed. Bened. tom. x. p. 51. Ἀκούων λουτρὸν ἐκεῖνος, ἀπλῶς ὕδωρ νομίζει· ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ τὸ ὀρώμενον ἀπλῶς βλέπω, ἀλλὰ τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς καθαρμὸν τὸν διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος. ἐκεῖνος λελοῦσθαι μοι τὸ σῶμα νομίζει μόνον· ἐγὼ δὲ πεπίστευκα ὅτι καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ γέγονε καθαρὰ τε καὶ ἁγία, καὶ λογίζομαι τὸν τάφον, τὴν ἀνάστασιν, τὸν ἁγιασμὸν, τὴν δικαιοσύνην, τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν, τὴν υἰοθεσίαν, τὴν κληρονομίαν, τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, τοῦ πνεύματος τὴν χορηγίαν. οὐ γὰρ τῇ ὄψει κρίνω τὰ φαινόμενα, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τῆς διανοίας. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 346.)

*Ibid.* Hom. xxv. (al. 34.) ed. Bened. tom. x. p. 218. Τὸ γὰρ πάντων ἐκεῖ τιμώτερον τοῦτό σοι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς δείξω κείμενον. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις τὸ πάντων σεμνότερον, οὐ τοῖχοι, οὐκ ὄροφος χρυσούς, ἀλλὰ τὸ βασιλικὸν σῶμα τὸ καθήμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου· οὕτω καὶ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως σῶμα. ἀλλὰ τοῦτό σοι νῦν ἔξεστιν ἐπὶ γῆς ἰδεῖν. οὐ γὰρ ἀγγέλους, οὐδὲ ἀρχαγγέλους, οὐδὲ οὐρανούς καὶ οὐρανούς οὐρανῶν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν τὸν τοῦτων σοι δείκνυμι δεσπότην. εἶδες πῶς τὸ πάντων τιμώτερον ὁρᾷς ἐπὶ γῆς; καὶ οὐχ ὁρᾷς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄπτη; καὶ οὐκ ἄπτη μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐσθίεις; καὶ λαβὼν οἶκαδε ἀναχωρεῖς; ἀπόσμηκε τοῖσιν τὴν ψυχὴν. *Disputation with Chedsey*, (vol. iv. p. 31.)

*Ibid.* Hom. xxx. (al. 39.) ed. Bened. tom. x. p. 650. Οὐχ ὥς ἔτυχε τὸ στόμα ἡμῶν τετίμηται δεχόμενον τὸ σῶμα τὸ δεσποτικόν. *Disputation with Chedsey*, (vol. iv. p. 30.)

*De Proditione Judæ*, Hom. i. ed. Bened. tom. ii. p. 384. Πάρεστιν ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ νῦν ἐκεῖνος ὁ τὴν τράπεζαν διακοσμήσας ἐκείνην, οὗτος καὶ ταύτην διακοσμεῖ νῦν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν ὁ ποιῶν τὰ προκείμενα γένεσθαι σῶμα καὶ αἷμα Χριστοῦ· ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὁ σταυρωθεὶς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν Χριστός. σχῆμα πληρῶν ἔστηκεν ὁ ἱερεὺς, τὰ ῥήματα φθεγγόμενος ἐκεῖνα· ἡ δὲ δύναμις, καὶ ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστὶ. τοῦτό μοι ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμά, φησι. τοῦτο τὸ ῥῆμα μεταρρύνθμίζει τὰ προκείμενα. καὶ καθάπερ ἡ φωνὴ ἐκείνη ἡ λέγουσα· αὐξάνεσθε, καὶ πληθύνεσθε, καὶ πληρώσατε τὴν γῆν, ἐρρέθη μὲν ἅπαξ, διὰ παντὸς δὲ τοῦ χρόνου γίνεται ἔργω ἐνδυναμούσα τὴν φύσιν τὴν ἡμετέραν πρὸς παιδοποιῶν· οὕτω καὶ ἡ φωνὴ αὕτη ἅπαξ λεχθεῖσα καθ' ἐκάστην τράπεζαν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, ἐξ ἐκείνου μέχρι σήμερον, καὶ μέχρι τῆς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας, τὴν θυσίαν ἀπηρτισμένην ἐργάζεται. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 415.); *Answer to Gardynner*, (vol. iii. p. 291.)

*In Joan.* Hom. xlv. (al. 45.) ed. Bened. tom. viii. p. 272. Διὸ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον μαθεῖν τὸ θαῦμα τῶν μυστηρίων, τί ποτὲ ἐστὶ, καὶ διατι εἰδόθῃ, καὶ τίς ἡ ὠφέλεια τοῦ πράγματος. ἐν σῶμα γινόμεθα μέλη, φησὶν,

ἐκ τοῦ σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὀστέων αὐτοῦ. οἱ δὲ μεμνημένοι παρακολουθεῖτωσαν τοῖς λεγομένοις.

Ἰν' οὖν μὴ μόνον κατὰ τὴν ἀγάπην γενώμεθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα, εἰς ἐκείνην ἀνακερασθῶμεν τὴν σάρκα. διὰ τῆς τροφῆς γὰρ τοῦτο γίνεται ἥς ἔχαρίασατο, βουλόμενος ἡμῖν δεῖξαι τὸν πόθον ὃν ἔχει περὶ ἡμᾶς, διὰ τοῦτο ἀνέμιξεν ἑαυτὸν ἡμῖν, καὶ ἀνέφυρε τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ εἰς ἡμᾶς, ἵνα ἔν τι ὑπάρξωμεν, καθάπερ σῶμα κεφαλῇ συνημμένον. τῶν γὰρ σφόδρα ποθοῦτων ἐστὶ τοῦτο δεῖγμα. τοῦτο γοῦν καὶ ὁ Ἰῶβ αἰνιττόμενος ἔλεγε περὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ οἰκετῶν, οἷς ἦν οὕτω μεθ' ὑπερβολῆς ποθεινός, ὥς προσφύναι ταῖς σαρξὶν αὐτοῦ ἐπιθυμεῖν. ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ τὸν πολλὸν αὐτῶν ἐνδεκνύμενοι πόθον ὃν εἶχον· τίς ἂν δόξῃ ἡμῖν τῶν σαρκῶν αὐτοῦ, ἔλεγον, ἐμπλησθῆναι; διὸ δὴ καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς αὐτὸ πεποίηκεν, εἰς φιλίαν ἡμᾶς ἐνάγων μείζονα, καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ πόθον ἐπιδεικνύς τὸν περὶ ἡμᾶς, οὐκ ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν μόνον παρέσχε τοῖς ἐπιθυμοῦσι· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄψασθαι, καὶ φαγεῖν, καὶ ἐμπῆξαι τοὺς ὀδόντας τῇ σαρκί, καὶ συμπλακῆναι καὶ τὸν πόθον ἐμπλήσσαι πάντα. ὥς λέοντες τῶν πῦρ πνέοντες, οὕτως ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης ἀναχωρῶμεν ἐκείνης, φοβεροὶ τῷ διαβόλῳ γινόμενοι, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐννοοῦντες, καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην ἣν περὶ ἡμᾶς ἐπεδείξατο. οἱ μὲν οὖν γεννήσαντες πολλὰκις ἐτέροις τρέφειν διδόνασιν τὰ τεχθέντα· ἐγὼ δὲ οὐχ οὕτω, φησὶν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς σαρξὶ τρέφω ταῖς ἑμαῖς· ἑμαυτὸν ὑμῖν παρατίθημι, πάντας ὑμᾶς εὐγενεῖς εἶναι βουλόμενος, καὶ χρηστὰς ὑμῖν περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ὑποτίνων ἐλπίδας. ὁ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ὑμῖν ἐκδοὺς ἑαυτὸν πολλὰ μᾶλλον ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι. ἀδελφὸς ἡθέλησα ὑμέτερος γίνεσθαι· ἐκοινωνήσατο σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος δι' ὑμᾶς· πάλιν αὐτὴν ὑμῖν τὴν σάρκα καὶ τὸ αἷμα, δι' ὧν συγγενὴς ἐγενόμην, ἐκδίδωμι. *Disputation with Chedsey*, (vol. iv. p. 26.)

*Ibid.* Hom. xlvii. (al. 46.) ed. Bened. tom. viii. p. 278. Ἐὰν γὰρ αὐτὸ σαρκικῶς τις ἐκλάβοι, οὐδὲν ἀπάνατο. τί οὖν, οὐκ ἔστι ἡ σὰρξ αὐτοῦ σὰρξ; καὶ σφόδρα μὲν οὖν. καὶ πῶς εἶπεν, ἡ σὰρξ οὐκ ὠφελεί οὐδέν; οὐ περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σαρκὸς λέγων· μὴ γένοιτο· ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν σαρκικῶς ἐκλαμβάνοντων τὰ λεγόμενα. τί δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ σαρκικῶς νοῆσαι; τὸ ἀπλῶς εἰς τὰ προκείμενα ὁρᾶν, καὶ μὴ πλέον τι φαντάζεσθαι. τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι σαρκικῶς. χρὴ δὲ μὴ οὕτω κρίνειν τοῖς ὁρωμένοις, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ μυστήρια τοῖς ἔξωθεν ὀφθαλμοῖς κατοπτρεύειν. τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι πνευματικῶς. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 379.); *Answer to Gardynner*, (vol. iii. p. 189.)

*In Epist. ad Hebr.* Hom. xvii. ed. Bened. tom. xii. pp. 168, 169. Τί οὖν; ἡμεῖς καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν οὐ προσφέρομεν; προσφέρομεν μὲν, ἀλλ' ἀνάμνησιν ποιούμενοι τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ . . . ἐκείνην προσφέρομεν καὶ νῦν, τὴν τότε τε προσενεχθεῖσαν, τὴν ἀνάλωτον. τοῦτο εἰς

ανάμνησιν γίνεται τοῦ τότε γενομένου. τοῦτο γὰρ ποιεῖτέ, φησιν, εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ανάμνησιν. οὐκ ἄλλην θυσίαν, καθάπερ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τότε, ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰεὶ ποιούμεν'· μᾶλλον δὲ ανάμνησιν ἐργαζόμεθα θυσίας. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 458.)

*De Sacerdotio*, lib. iii. ed. Bened. tom. i. p. 382. "Ὅταν γὰρ ἴδῃς τὸν κύριον τεθυμένον καὶ κείμενον, καὶ τὸν ἱερέα ἐφεστῶτα τῷ θύματι, καὶ ἐπενχόμενον· καὶ πάντας ἐκείνῳ τῷ τιμῇ φοινισσομένους αἵματι· ἄρα ἔτι μετὰ ἀνθρώπων εἶναι νομίζεις, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐστάναι; ἀλλ' οὐκ εὐθέως ἐπὶ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς μετανίστασαι, καὶ πᾶσαν σαρκικὴν διάνοιαν τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκβάλλων, γυμνῇ τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τῷ νῷ καθαρῷ περιβλέπεις τὰ ἐν οὐρανοῖς; ὃ τοῦ θαύματος· ὃ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίας· ὁ μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἄνω καθήμενος, κατὰ τὴν ὥραν ἐκείνην τῶν ἀπάντων κατέχεται χερσὶ, καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτὸν τοῖς βουλομένοις περιπτύξασθαι καὶ περιλαβεῖν. ποιοῦσι δὲ τοῦτο πάντες διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τῆς πίστεως. *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. pp. 235. 287, 288.) ; *Disputation with Chedsey*, (vol. iv. p. 30.)

*In Psalm.* l. ed. Bened. tom. v. p. 579. 'Αισχύνεται γὰρ γίνεσθαι τροφὸς ἡ γυναικὶν μήτηρ· ὃ δὲ Χριστὸς οὐχ οὕτως. ἐγίννησε γὰρ ἡμᾶς, καὶ αὐτὸς τροφὸς ἡμῶν ἐγίνετο. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀντὶ βρωμάτων τὴν ἰδίαν σάρκα ἡμᾶς ἔθρεψε, καὶ ἀντὶ πάματος, τὸ ἴδιον αὐτοῦ αἷμα ἡμᾶς ἐπότισεν. *Disputation with Chedsey*, (vol. iv. p. 29.)

## DIONYSIUS PSEUDAREOPAGITA.

*De Eccles. Hierarch.* cap. iii. Τὸν ἐγκεκαλυμμένον καὶ ἀδιαίρετον ἄρτον ἀνακαλύψας, καὶ εἰς πολλὰ διελὼν, καὶ τὸ ἐνιαῖον τοῦ ποτηρίου πᾶσι καταμερίσας, συμβολικῶς τὴν ἐνότητα πληθύνει, καὶ διανέμει, παναγεστάτην ἐν τούτοις ἱεουργίαν τελῶν. *Defence*, (vol. ii. pp. 320. 402.) ; *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. p. 235.)

## CYRILLUS. A. D. 412.

*In Joan.* lib. iv. cap. 10. ed. Aubert. tom. iv. p. 351. Οὐκοῦν οἱ μὲν φαγόντες τὸ μάννα, φησὶ, τετελευτήκασιν, ὥς οὐδεμιᾶς δηλονότι ζωῆς μετουσίαν παρ' αὐτοῦ δεξάμενοι· οὐ γὰρ ἦν διττὸς ζωοποιὸν, λιμοῦ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐπικούρον σαρκικοῦ, καὶ ὥς ἐν τύπῳ τοῦ ἀληθεστέρου παραληφθέν. οἱ δὲ τὸν ἄρτον ἐν ἑαυτοῖς εἰσκομίζοντες τῆς ζωῆς, γέρας ἔξουσιν τὴν ἀθανασίαν, φθορᾶς τε καὶ τῶν ἐκ ταύτης κακῶν παντελῶς ἀλογησάμενοι, πρὸς ἀμῆρυντόν τε καὶ ἀτελεύτητον βίον τοῦ κατὰ Χριστὸν ἀναβήσονται μήκους. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 435.)

*Ibid.* p. 353. 'Αποθνήσκω, φησὶν, ὑπὲρ πάντων, ἵνα πάντας ζωοποιήσω δι' ἑμαυτοῦ, καὶ ἀντίλυτρον τῆς ἀπάντων σαρκὸς τὴν ἐμὴν ἐποι-

ησάμην. τεθνήσκει γὰρ ὁ θάνατος ἐν θανάτῳ τῷ ἐμῷ. *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. pp. 10. 475.)

*Ibid.* p. 354. Διὰ τοῦτο ζωοποιεῖ τοὺς μετέχοντας αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα Χριστοῦ. ἐξελαίνει γὰρ τὸν θάνατον, ὅταν ἐν τοῖς ἀποθνήσκουσι γένηται, καὶ ἐξίστησι φθοράν. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 435.)

*Ibid.* p. 360. Τοῖς ἤδη πεπιστευκόσι, διακλάσας τὸν ἄρτον ἐδίδου, λέγων Λάβετε, φάγετε, τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 375.)

*Ibid.* p. 361. Εἰ διὰ μόνης ἀφῆς τῆς ἁγίας σαρκὸς ζωοποιεῖται τὸ ἐφθαρμένον, πῶς οὐχὶ πλουσιωτέραν ἀποκερδανοῦμεν τὴν ζωοποιὸν εὐλογίαν, ὅταν αὐτῆς καὶ ἀπογενεσώμεθα; *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 435.)

*Ibid.* p. 364. Ὡς περ εἴ τις κηρὸν ἐτέρῳ συνάψει κηρῷ, πάντως δῆπου καὶ ἕτερον ἐν ἐτέρῳ γεγονότα κατόψεται· τὸν αὐτὸν, οἶμαι, τρόπον καὶ ὁ τὴν σάρκα δεχόμενος τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν Χριστοῦ, καὶ πίνων αὐτοῦ τὸ τίμιον αἷμα, καθά φησιν αὐτὸς, ἐν ᾧ πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐρίσκεται, συνανακρινάμενος ὥς περ καὶ ἀναμγνύμενος αὐτῷ διὰ τῆς μεταλήψεως, ὡς ἐν Χριστῷ μὲν αὐτὸν εὐρίσκεσθαι, Χριστὸν δὲ αὐτὸν πάλιν ἐν αὐτῷ. *Defence*, (vol. ii. pp. 435. 412.)

*Ibid.* p. 365. Ὁλιγίστη εὐλογία σύμπαν ἡμῶν εἰς ἑαυτὴν ἀναφέρει τὸ σῶμα, καὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἐνεργείας ἀναπληροῖ, οὕτω τε ἐν ἡμῖν γίνεται Χριστὸς, καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτὸν πάλιν ἐν αὐτῷ. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 411.)

*Ibid.* p. 747. Μικρὸν γε μὴν ἔτι χρόνον συνέσεσθαι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς ἔφη Χριστὸς, οὐχ ὡς ἀφεστήξων παντελῶς, οὐδὲ εἰς ἅπαν, καὶ ὁλοκλήρως ἀλλοτριούμενος, μεθ' ἡμῶν γὰρ ἐστι πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας, καὶ ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος, κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ φωνήν· ἀλλ' ὅτι μετὰ σαρκὸς οὐ συνέσται, καθάπερ ἐχθὲς καὶ τρίτην ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ θύραις, μᾶλλον δὲ εἰς τὴν θυρῶν ὁ καιρὸς τῆς ἐντεῦθεν ἀποδημίας πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, καὶ τῆς ἀνόδου τῆς εἰς οὐρανόν. διακεῖσθαι δὲ δεῖν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι φημι τοὺς οἱ γε φρονοῦσιν ὀρθῶς, καὶ ἰδρυμένην ἔχουσι τὴν πίστιν, ὡς εἰ καὶ ἄπεστιν ἡμῶν τῇ σαρκί, τὴν πρὸς Θεὸν καὶ πατέρα στειλάμενος ἀποδημίαν, ἀλλ' οὖν τῇ θεῇ δυνάμει περιέπει τὰ σύμπαντα, καὶ συμπάρεστι τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν. διὰ γάρ τοι τοῦτο καὶ ἔφασκεν Ἀμήν ἀμήν, λέγων ὑμῖν, ὅπου ἔαν συναχθέντες ὡς δύο ἢ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα, ἐκεῖ εἰμι ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν. ὥς περ γὰρ ἀνθρώποις ἔτι συνδιατώμενος, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ὑπάρχων μετὰ σαρκὸς, ἐπλήρου μὲν οὐρανούς, συνῆν δὲ τότε τοῖς ἁγίοις ἀγγέλοις, οὐκ ἀπελείπετό τε τῶν ἄνω χώρων· οὕτω καὶ νῦν ὑπάρχων ἐν οὐρανοῖς μετὰ τῆς ἰδίας σαρκὸς, πληροῖ μὲν τὴν γῆν, σύνεστι δὲ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ γνωρίμοις. ἐπιτήρει δὲ ὅπως, καίτοι κατὰ μόνην τὴν σάρκα χωρίζεσθαι προσδοκῶν, σύνεστι γὰρ ἡμῖν τῇ δυνάμει τῆς θεότητος διὰ πάντος, ἔτι μικρὸν χρόνον μεθ' ἡμῶν ἔσεσθαι φησί. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 364.)

*Ibid.* p. 755. Τοῖς ἁγίοις μαθηταῖς αἰεὶ συνεῖναι σπουδάζουσι, οὐ



φορητὸν εἶναι διεφαίνεται τὸ χωρίζεσθαι Χριστοῦ, καίτοι συνόντος αὐτοῖς διὰ παντὸς τῇ τοῦ πνεύματος δυνάμει τε καὶ συνεργείᾳ. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 364.)

*Ibid.* p. 862. Ὅτι μὲν διαθέσει τῇ νοουμένη κατὰ τὴν τελείαν ἀγάπην, ὀρθῇ τε καὶ ἀδιαστρόφῳ πίστει, φιλαρέτῃ τε καὶ εὐλακρινεῖ λογισμῷ συνενούμεθα πνευματικῶς τῷ Χριστῷ, οὐδαμῶς ἐξαγνήσεται τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν δογμάτων ὁ λόγος· συνερούμεν γὰρ ὅτι δὴ μάλα τοῦτό φασιν ὀρθῶς· τὸ δέ γε κατα바ρσῆσαι λέγειν, ὡς οὐδεὶς ἡμῖν συναφείας τῆς κατὰ σάρκα πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ λόγος, ὀλοκλήρως ἀπᾶν τὰς θεοπνεύστοις γραφαῖς ἐπιδείξομεν. πῶς γὰρ ἂν ἀμφιλογον, ἢ τίς ἂν ὁλῶς ἐνδοιάσαι ποτὶ τῶν ἐν φρονεῖν εἰωθότων, ὃ εἰς ἀμπελος μὲν ἔστι κατὰ τοῦτο Χριστός; ἡμεῖς γὰρ κλημάτων ἀποτελοῦντες σχῆμα τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ ζωὴν εἰς αὐτοὺς κομιζόμεθα· καίτοι τοῦ Παύλου λέγοντος· Οἱ γὰρ πάντες ἐν σῶμά ἐσμεν ἐν Χριστῷ, ὅτι εἰς ἄρτος οἱ πολλοὶ ἐσμέν· οἱ γὰρ πάντες ἐκ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἄρτου μετέχομεν. λεγέτω γάρ τις ἡμῖν τὴν αἰτίαν, καὶ διδασκέτω παρελθὼν τῆς μυστικῆς εὐλογίας τὴν δύναμιν. γίνεται γὰρ ἐν ἡμῖν διὰ τῆς; ἄρ' οὐχὶ καὶ σωματικῶς ἡμῖν ἐνοικίζουσα τὸν Χριστὸν τῇ μεθέξει καὶ κοινωνίᾳ τῆς ἀγίας αὐτοῦ σαρκός; ἄλλ' οἶμαι λέγειν ὀρθῶς· γράφει γὰρ ὁ Παῦλος γεγενῆσθαι τὰ ἔθνη σύσσωμα καὶ συμμέτοχα, καὶ συγκληρονόμα Χριστοῦ. σύσσωμα τοιγαροῦν κατὰ ποῖον ἀπεφάνθη τρόπον; ἀξιώθεντα γὰρ μετασχεῖν τῆς εὐλογίας τῆς μυστικῆς, ἐν πρὸς αὐτὸν γέγονε σῶμα, καθάπερ ἀμέλει καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἕκαστος ἀποστόλων. ἐπεὶ διὰ ποῖαν αἰτίαν μέλη τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὰ οἰκεία μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ πάντων ὡς αὐτοῦ κατωνόμασε μέλη; γράφει γὰρ οὕτως· Οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν μέλη Χριστοῦ ἐστίν; ἄρα οὖν τὰ μέλη τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ποιήσω πόρνης μέλη; μὴ γένοιτο. ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ σωτήρ· Ὁ τρώγων μου τὴν σάρκα, φησὶ, καὶ πίνων μου τὸ αἷμα, ἐν ἐμοὶ μένει, κἀγὼ ἐν αὐτῷ. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 410.); *Answer to Gardiner*, (pp. 258. 263.)

*Ibid.* p. 1001. Γίνεται μὲν ἐν ἡμῖν ὁ υἱὸς, σωματικῶς μὲν ὡς ἄνθρωπος, συνακιρνώμενός τε καὶ συνενούμενος δι' εὐλογίας τῆς μυστικῆς. πνευματικῶς δὲ αὐτὸς πάλιν ὡς Θεὸς, τῇ τοῦ ἰδίου πνεύματος ἐνεργείᾳ, καὶ χάριτι τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν ἀνακτίζων πνεῦμα πρὸς καινότητα ζωῆς, καὶ τῆς θείας αὐτοῦ φύσεως κοινωνῶνους καθιστάς. σύνδεσμος οὖν ἄρα τῆς ἐνότητος ἡμῶν τῆς πρὸς Θεὸν καὶ πατέρα διαφαίνεται Χριστός, ἐαυτοῦ μὲν ἡμᾶς ἐξαγνήσας ὡς ἄνθρωπος, Θεῷ δὲ ὡς Θεὸς ἐνυπάρχων φυσικῶς τῷ ἰδίῳ γεννήτορι. *Answer to Gardiner*, (vol. iii. p. 259.)

*De Trin.* Dial. ii. ed. Aubert. tom. v. pars i. p. 447. Εἰ γὰρ ὅλος τομῆς τε καὶ μερισμοῦ, καὶ ὧν ἐκεῖνοι φασὶν ἡ θεία φύσις ἀνέχεται, νοεῖσθω καὶ σῶμα· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, καὶ ἐν τόπῳ πάντως που, καὶ ἐν μεγέθει, καὶ ποσῷ. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 366.)

*Apologet. adversus Orient.* Anath. xi. ed. Aubert. tom. vi. p. 193. Ἀρ' οὖν ὡς ἑτερόν τινα υἱὸν καὶ Χριστὸν παρὰ τὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ λόγον τὸν φαινόμενον εἶναι διαβεβαιούμενος, ᾧ καὶ μόνῃ τὸ τῆς ἀποστολῆς προσενέμεται χρῆμα, οὐκ ἀνθρωποφαγίαν ἡμῶν ἀποφαίνει τὸ μυστήριον, παριστὰς ἀνοσίως εἰς ἐξιτήλους ἐννοίας τῶν πιστευσάντων<sup>υ</sup> τὸν νοῦν<sup>κ</sup> καὶ λογισμοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑποφέρειν ἐπιχειρῶν, ἃ μόνος<sup>κ</sup> καὶ ἀζητήτῳ πίστει προσλαμβάνεται; *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 410.); *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. pp. 64. 260. 267.)

*Epist. ad Calosyrium*, ed. Aubert. tom. vi. p. 365. Ἀκούω δὲ ὅτι εἰς ἀγασμὸν ἀπρακτεῖν φασὶν τὴν μυστικὴν εὐλογίαν, εἰ ἀπομένοι λείψανον αὐτῆς εἰς ἑτέραν ἡμέραν. μαίνονται δὲ ταῦτα λέγοντες. οὐ γὰρ ἀλλοιοῦται Χριστὸς, οὐδὲ τὸ ἅγιον αὐτοῦ σῶμα μεταβληθήσεται, ἀλλ' ἡ τῆς εὐλογίας δύναμις, καὶ ἡ ζωοποιὸς χάρις διηνεκὴς ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῷ. *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. pp. 107. 218. 224.)

### CONCILIUM EPHESINUM. A. D. 431.

*Epist. Cyrilli et Synodi Alexandr. ad Nestorium*, §. vii. Conc. ed. Reg. Paris. 1644. tom. v. p. 399. Καταγγέλλοντες τὸν κατὰ σάρκα θάνατον τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τουτέστιν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὴν τε ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναβίωσιν καὶ τὴν εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνάληψιν ὁμολογοῦντες, τὴν ἀναίμακτον ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τελοῦμεν θυσίαν<sup>γ</sup> πρόσμιμν τε οὕτω ταῖς μυστικαῖς εὐλογίαις καὶ ἀγιαζόμεθα, μέτοχοι γενόμενοι τῆς τε ἁγίας σαρκὸς, καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος τοῦ πάντων ἡμῶν σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ. καὶ οὐχ ὡς σάρκα κοινὴν δεχόμενοι· μὴ γένοιτο· οὔτε μὴ ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἡγιασμένου, καὶ συναφθέντος τῷ λόγῳ κατὰ τὴν ἐνότητᾴ τῆς ἁγίας, ἔχουν ὡς θεῖαν ἐνοίκησιν ἐσχηκότος· ἀλλ' ὡς ζωοποιὸν ἀληθῶς, καὶ ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ τοῦ λόγου. *Answer to Smythe*, (vol. iii. p. 3. 5.); *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. p. 548.)

### THEODORETUS. A. D. 423.

*Dialog. i.* ed. Sirmondi, tom. iv. p. 17.

ΟΡΘ. Οἶσθα ὅτι ἄρτον ὁ Θεὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον προσηγόρευσε σῶμα;

ΕΡΑΝ. Οἶδα.

ΟΡ. Καὶ ἐτέρωθι δὲ τὴν σάρκα σίτον ὠνόμασεν;

ΕΡ. Οἶδα καὶ τοῦτο· ἤκουσα γὰρ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος, Ἐλήλυθεν ἡ ὥρα, ἵνα δοξασθῇ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· καὶ, Ἐὰν μὴ ὁ κόκκος τοῦ σίτου πεσὼν εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀποθάνῃ, μόνος μένει· ἐὰν δὲ ἀποθάνῃ, πολλὴν καρπὸν φέρει.

<sup>υ</sup> πιστευσάντων.

<sup>κ</sup> μόνῃ.

<sup>γ</sup> Αἱ λατρίαι.

ΟΡ. Ἐν δέ γε τῇ τῶν μυστηρίων παραδόσει, σῶμα τὸν ἄρτον ἐκάλεσε, καὶ αἷμα τὸ κρᾶμα.

ΕΡ. Οὕτως ὠνόμασεν.

ΟΡ. Ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ φύσιν τὸ σῶμα σῶμα κληθεῖη, καὶ τὸ αἷμα αἷμα.

ΕΡ. Ὡμολόγηται.

ΟΡ. Ὁ δέ γε σωτήρ ὁ ἡμέτερος ἐνῆλλαξε τὰ ὀνόματα· καὶ τῷ μὲν σώματι τὸ τοῦ συμβόλου τέθεικεν ὄνομα· τῷ δὲ συμβόλῳ τὸ τοῦ σώματος. οὕτως ἄμπελον ἑαυτὸν ὀνομάσας, αἷμα τὸ σύμβολον προσηγόρευσεν.

ΕΡ. Τοῦτο μὲν ἀληθῶς εἴρηκας. ἐβουλόμην δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν μαθεῖν τῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐναλλαγῆς.

ΟΡ. Δῆλος δ' σκοπὸς τοῖς τὰ θεῖα μεμνημένοις. ἡβουλήθη γὰρ τοὺς τῶν θείων μυστηρίων μεταλαγχάνοντας, μὴ τῇ φύσει τῶν βλεπομένων προσέχειν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐναλλαγῆς, πιστεῦειν τῇ ἐκ τῆς χάριτος γεγεννημένῃ μεταβολῇ. ὁ γὰρ δὴ τὸ σῶμα σίτον καὶ ἄρτον προσ-αγορεύσας, καὶ αὐτὸς πάλιν ἑαυτὸν ἄμπελον ὀνομάσας, οὗτος τὰ ὀρώμενα σύμβολα τῇ τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος προσηγορίας τετίμηκεν, οὐ τὴν φύσιν μεταβαλὼν, ἀλλὰ τὴν χάριν τῇ φύσει προστεθεικώς.

ΕΡ. Καὶ μυστικῶς ἐρρήθη τὰ μυστικά, καὶ σαφῶς ἐδηλώθη τὰ πᾶσιν οὐ γνῶριμα.

ΟΡ. Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν συνωμολόγηται καὶ στολὴν καὶ περιβολὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρίάρχου τὸ δεσποτικὸν ὠνόμασθαι σῶμα, εἰς δὲ τὸν περὶ τῶν θείων μυστηρίων εἰσεληλύθαμεν λόγον, εἰπὲ πρὸς τῆς ἀληθείας, τίνας ἡγῇ σύμβολόν τε καὶ τύπον τὴν παναγίαν τροφήν; τῆς θεότητος τοῦ δεσπότη τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἢ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἵματος.

ΕΡ. Δῆλον ὥς ἐκείνων ὧν καὶ τὰς προσηγορίας ἐδέξαντο.

ΟΡ. Τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἵματος λέγεις;

ΕΡ. Οὕτω λέγω.

ΟΡ. Φιλαληθῶς εἴρηκας. καὶ γὰρ ὁ κύριος τὸ σύμβολον λαβὼν, οὐκ εἶπε, τοῦτό ἐστιν ἡ θεότης μου· ἀλλὰ, Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου. καὶ πάλιν, Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ αἷμά μου. καὶ ἐτέρωθεν, Ὁ δὲ ἄρτος ὃν ἐγὼ δώσω, ἡ σὰρξ μου ἐστίν, ἣν ἐγὼ δώσω ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς.

ΕΡ. Ἀληθὴ ταῦτα, θεία γάρ ἐστι λόγια.

ΟΡ. Εἰ τοίνυν ἀληθῇ, σῶμα δήπου εἶχεν ὁ κύριος.

ΕΡ. Ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀσώματον λέγω.

ΟΡ. Ἄλλ' ὁμολογεῖς αὐτὸν ἐσχηκέναι σῶμα. *Defence*, (vol. ii. pp. 332. 388.); *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. pp. 204. 207.)

*Dialog*. ii. *ibid*. p. 82.

ΟΡ. Τοιγάρτοι καὶ τὴν φθορὰν, καὶ τὸν θάνατον συμβεβηκὸς, οὐκ οὐσίας ὀνομαστέον. συμβαίνουσι γὰρ, καὶ ἀποσυμβαίνουσι.

ΕΡ. Οὕτω κλητέον.

ΟΡ. Οὐκοῦν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων σώματα, τῆς μὲν φθορᾶς ἀνιστάμενα καὶ τῆς θνητότητος ἀπαλλάττεται, τὴν δὲ γε οἰκίαν οὐκ ἀπολύει φύσιν.

ΕΡ. Ἀληθές.

ΟΡ. Καὶ τὸ δεσποτικὸν τοιγαροῦν σῶμα, ἀφθαρτον μὲν ἀνίστη, καὶ ἀπαθείς καὶ ἀθάνατον, καὶ τῇ θείᾳ δόξῃ δεδοξασμένον, καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐπουρανίων προσκυνεῖται δυνάμεων. σῶμα δὲ ὅμως ἐστὶ, τὴν προτέραν ἔχον περιγραφὴν.

ΕΡ. Ἐν μὲν τούτοις εἰκότα λέγειν δοκεῖς. μετὰ δὲ γε τὴν εἰς οὐρανούς ἀνάληψιν, οὐκ οἶμαι σε λέξειν, ὥς οὐκ εἰς θεότητος μετεβλήθη φύσιν.

ΟΡ. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἂν φαίην, ἀνθρωπίνους πειθόμενος λογισμοῖς· σὺ γὰρ οὕτως εἰμι θρασὺς, ὥστε φάναι τι σεσιγημένον παρὰ τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ. ἤκουσα μνῆτοι τοῦ θείου Παύλου βοῶντος, ὅτι Ἔστησεν ὁ Θεὸς ἡμέραν, ἐν ᾗ μέλλει κρίνειν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ἐν ἀνδρὶ ᾧ ἔωρισε, πίστιν παρασχὼν πᾶσιν, ἀναστήσας ἐκ νεκρῶν αὐτόν. μεμάθηκα δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων, ὅτι οὕτως ἐλευσεται, ὃν τρόπον αὐτὸν εἶδον οἱ μαθηταὶ πορευόμενον εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. εἶδον δὲ περιγεγραμμένην φύσιν, οὐκ ἀπερίγραφον. ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ τοῦ κυρίου λέγοντος, Ὅψεσθε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. καὶ οἶδα περιγεγραμμένον τὸ ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων ὄραμενον. ἀθέατος γὰρ ἡ ἀπερίγραφος φύσις. καὶ μνῆτοι καὶ τὸ καθίσαι ἐπὶ θρόνου δόξης, καὶ στήσαι τοὺς μὲν ἄμυνους ἐκ δεξιῶν, τοὺς δὲ ἐρίφους ἐξ ἐναντίμων, τὸ περιγεγραμμένον δηλοῖ. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 390.)

*Ibid.* p. 84.

ΕΡ. Πάντα δεῖ λίθον κινεῖν, κατὰ τὴν παρομίαν, ὥστε τὸ ἀληθὲς ἐξευρεῖν. οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ θείων προκειμένων δογμάτων.

ΟΡ. Ἐἵπε τοίνυν, τὰ μυστικά σύμβολα παρὰ τῶν ἱερωμένων τῷ Θεῷ προσφερόμενα τίνας ἐστὶ σύμβολα;

ΕΡ. Τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ σώματός τε καὶ αἵματος.

ΟΡ. Τοῦ ὄντως σώματος ἢ οὐκ ὄντως;

ΕΡ. Τοῦ ὄντως.

ΟΡ. Ἄριστα. χρὴ γὰρ εἶναι τὸ τῆς εἰκονος ἀρχέτυπον. καὶ γὰρ οἱ ζωγράφοι τὴν φύσιν μιμοῦνται, καὶ τῶν ὁρωμένων γράφουσι τὰς εἰκονας.

ΕΡ. Ἀληθές.

ΟΡ. Εἰ τοίνυν τοῦ ὄντως σώματος ἀντίτυπός ἐστι τὰ θεία μυστήρια, σῶμα ἄρα ἐστὶ καὶ νῦν τοῦ δεσπότου τὸ σῶμα, οὐκ εἰς θεότητος φύσιν μεταβληθέν, ἀλλὰ θείας δόξης ἀναπλησθέν.

ΕΡ. Εἰς καιρὸν τὸν περὶ τῶν θείων μυστηρίων ἐκινήσας λόγον. ἐντεῦθεν σοι γὰρ δεῖξω τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ σώματος τὴν εἰς ἑτέραν φύσιν μεταβολήν. ἀποκρίναι τοίνυν πρὸς τὰς ἐμὰς ἐρωτήσεις.

ΟΡ. Ἀποκρινοῦμαι.

ΕΡ. Τί καλεῖς τὸ προσφερόμενον δῶρον πρὸ τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἐπικλήσεως;

ΟΡ. Οὐ χρή σαφῶς εἰπεῖν· ἐκδὸς γάρ τινας ἀμυήτους παρεῖμαι.

ΕΡ. Αἰνιγματωδῶς ἢ ἀπόκρισις ἔστω.

ΟΡ. Τὴν ἐκ τοιῶνδε σπερμάτων τροφήν.

ΕΡ. Τὸ δὲ ἕτερον σύμβολον πῶς ὀνομάζομεν;

ΟΡ. Κοινὸν καὶ τοῦτο ὄνομα, πύματος εἶδος σημαῖνον.

ΕΡ. Μετὰ δέ γε τὸν ἁγιασμόν, πῶς ταῦτα προσαγορεύεις;

ΟΡ. Σῶμα Χριστοῦ καὶ αἷμα Χριστοῦ.

ΕΡ. Καὶ πιστεύεις γε σώματος Χριστοῦ μεταλαμβάνειν, καὶ αἵματος;

ΟΡ. Οὕτω πιστεύω.

ΕΡ. Ὡς περ τοῖνυν τὰ σύμβολα τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ σώματός τε καὶ αἵματος, ἄλλα μὲν εἰσι πρὸ τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἐπικλήσεως, μετὰ δέ γε τὴν ἐπίκλησιν μεταβάλλεται, καὶ ἕτερα γίνεται· οὕτω τὸ δεσποτικὸν σῶμα μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν, εἰς τὴν οὐσίαν μετεβλήθη τὴν θείαν.

ΟΡ. Ἐάλως αἱς ὕφηνες ἄρκυσιν. οὐδὲ γὰρ μετὰ τὸν ἁγιασμόν τὰ μυστικά σύμβολα τῆς οικείας ἐξίσταται φύσεως. μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας, καὶ τοῦ σχήματος, καὶ τοῦ εἶδους, καὶ δρατὰ ἐστὶ καὶ ἅπτᾳ, οἷα καὶ πρότερον ἦν· νοεῖται δὲ ἅπερ ἐγένετο, καὶ πιστεύεται καὶ προσκυνεῖται, ὥς ἐκεῖνα ὄντα ἅπερ πιστεύεται. παράβες τοῖνυν τῷ ἀρχετύπῳ τὴν εἰκόνα, καὶ ὕφει τὴν ὁμοιότητα. χρή γὰρ εὐκένοι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τὸν τύπον. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνο τὸ σῶμα, τὸ μὲν πρότερον εἶδος ἔχει, καὶ σχῆμα, καὶ περιγραφὴν, καὶ ἀπαξιαπλῶς εἰπεῖν τὴν τοῦ σώματος οὐσίαν. ἀθάνατον δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν γέγονε, καὶ κρείττον φθορᾶς, καὶ τῆς ἐκ δεξιῶν ἡξιόβη καθέδρας, καὶ παρὰ πάσης προσκυνεῖται τῆς κτίσεως, ἅτε δὴ σῶμα χρηματίζον τοῦ δεσπότης τῆς φύσεως.

ΕΡ. Καὶ μὴν τὸ μυστικὸν σύμβολον τὴν προτέραν ἀμείβει προσηγορίαν. οὐκέτι γὰρ ὀνομάζεται ὑπερ πρότερον ἐκαλεῖτο, ἀλλὰ σῶμα προσαγορεύεται. χρή τοῖνυν, καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν θεὸν, ἀλλὰ μὴ σῶμα καλεῖσθαι.

ΟΡ. Ἀγνοεῖν μοι δοκεῖς. οὐ γὰρ σῶμα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄρτος ζωῆς ὀνομάζεται. οὕτως αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος προσηγόρευσε. καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ σῶμα, θεῖον ὀνομάζομεν σῶμα, καὶ ζωοποιὸν, καὶ δεσποτικόν, καὶ κυριακόν, διδάσκοντες ὥς οὐ κοινόν τινός ἐστιν ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃς Θεὸς ἐστὶ καὶ ἄνθρωπος. Ἰησοῦς γὰρ Χριστὸς χθὲς καὶ σήμερον, ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 391.); *Answer to Gardiner*, (vol. iii. pp. 204. 207.)

#### VIGILIUS AFER. A. D. 484.

*Adversus Eutychen*, lib. i. In Magn. Biblioth. Patr. Colon. Agr. 1618. tom. v. p. 712. Ait discipulis suis, *Si diligere*

*me, gauderetis, quia vado ad patrem, quia pater major me est. Et iterum: Expedit vobis ut ego eam, si enim ego non abiero, paracletus ad vos non veniet. Et certe verbum Dei, virtus Dei, sapientia Dei, semper apud patrem et in patre fuit, etiam quando in nobis nobiscum fuit. Neque enim cum terrena misericorditer incoluit, de cœlesti habitatione recessit. Cum patre enim ubique est totus pari divinitate, quem nullus continet locus. Plena sunt quippe omnia filio, nec est aliquis locus divinitatis ejus præsentia vacuus. Unde ergo, et quo se iturum dicit, aut quomodo se ad patrem perrecturum adserat, a quo sine dubio nunquam recessit? Sed hoc erat ire ad patrem et recedere a nobis, auferre de hoc mundo naturam quam susceperat ex nobis. Vides ergo eidem naturæ proprium fuisse, ut auferretur et abiret a nobis, quæ in fine temporum reddenda est nobis, secundum attestantium vocem angelorum, *Hic Jesus qui receptus est a vobis, sic veniet, quemadmodum vidistis eum euntem in cœlum.* Nam vide miraculum, vide utriusque proprietatis mysterium, Dei filius qui secundum humanitatem suam recessit a nobis, secundum divinitatem suam ait nobis, *Ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem sæculi.* . . . Sed et nobiscum est, et non est nobiscum. Quia quos reliquit, et a quibus discessit humanitate sua, non reliquit nec deseruit divinitate sua. Per formam enim servi, quam abstulit a nobis in cœlum, absens est nobis: per formam Dei, quæ non recedit a nobis in terris, præsens est nobis; tamen et præsens et absens ipse unus idemque est nobis. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 368.)*

*Ibid.* p. 722. Si verbi et carnis una natura est, quomodo, cum verbum ubique sit, non ubique inveniatur et caro, namque quando in terra fuit, non erat utique in cœlo: et nunc, quia in cœlo est, non est utique in terra, et in tantum non est, ut secundum ipsam Christum spectemus venturum de cœlo, quem secundum verbum nobiscum esse credimus in terra. Igitur secundum vos, aut verbum cum carne sua loco continetur, aut caro cum verbo ubique est, quando una natura contrarium quid et diversum non recipit in se ipsa. Diversum est autem et longe dissimile circumscribi loco, et ubique esse; et quia verbum ubique est, caro autem ejus ubique non est, apparet unum eundemque Christum utriusque esse naturæ, et esse quidem ubique secundum naturam divinitatis suæ, et loco contineri secundum naturam humanitatis suæ: creatum esse, et initium non

habere: morti subjacere, et mori non posse: quod unum illi est ex natura verbi, qua Deus est, aliud ex natura carnis, qua idem Deus homo est. Igitur unus Dei filius, idemque hominis factus filius, habet initium ex natura carnis suæ, et non habet initium ex natura divinitatis suæ: creatus est per naturam carnis suæ, et non est creatus per naturam divinitatis suæ: circumscribitur loco per naturam carnis suæ, et loco non capitur per naturam divinitatis suæ: minor est etiam angelis per naturam carnis suæ, et æqualis est Patri secundum naturam divinitatis suæ: mortuus est natura carnis suæ, et non est mortuus natura divinitatis suæ. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 369.)

## FULGENTIUS. A. D. 507.

*Ad Trasimundum Regem*, lib. ii. cap. 13. p. 107. Paris. 1684. Unus idemque secundum carnem de matre temporaliter natus, qui secundum divinitatem de Patre permanet sempiternus: unus idemque homo localis ex homine, qui est Deus immensus ex Patre: unus idemque, secundum humanam substantiam, absens cœlo, cum esset in terra, et derelinquens terram, cum ascendisset in cœlum: secundum divinam vero immensamque substantiam, nec cœlum dimittens, cum de cœlo descendit, nec terram deserens, cum ad cœlum ascendit. Quod ipsius Domini certissimo potest cognosci sermone; qui ut localem ostenderet humanitatem suam, dicit discipulis suis: *Ascendo ad Patrem meum et ad Patrem vestrum, Deum meum et Deum vestrum*. De Lazaro quoque cum dixisset; *Lazarus mortuus est*, adjunxit dicens: *Et gaudeo propter vos, ut credatis, quoniam non eram ibi*. Immensitatem vero suæ divinitatis ostendens discipulis dicit: *Ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus, usque ad consummationem sæculi*. Quomodo autem ascendit in cœlum, nisi quia localis et verus est homo? aut quomodo adest fidelibus suis, nisi quia idem immensus et verus est Deus? *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 420.)

## DAMASCENUS. A. D. 730.

*De Fide Orthod.* lib. iv. cap. 13. ed. Lequien. tom. i. p. 267. Ἐπειδὴ διπλοὶ τινὲς ἐσμὲν καὶ σύνθετοι, δεῖ καὶ τὴν γέννησιν διπλὴν εἶναι, ὁμοίως καὶ τὴν βρῶσιν σύνθετον· ἡ μὲν οὖν γέννησις ἡμῶν δι' ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος δέδοται· φημὶ δὲ τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος· ἡ δὲ βρῶσις

αὐτὸς ὁ ἄρτος τῆς ζωῆς, ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς.

*Ibid.* p. 269. Ἄρτος δὲ καὶ οἶνος παραλαμβάνεται· οἶδε γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀσθένειαν· ὥς τὰ πολλὰ γὰρ τὰ μὴ κατὰ τὴν συνήθειαν τετριμμένα, ἀποστρέφεται δυσχεραίνουσα· τῇ οὖν συγκαταβάσει συνήθει κεχηρμένοι, διὰ τῶν συνηθῶν τῆς φύσεως ποιεῖ τὰ ὑπὲρ φύσιν· καὶ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, ἐπειδὴ ἔθος ἀνθρώποις ὕδατι λούεσθαι, καὶ ελαίῳ χρῖσθαι, συνέζευξε τῷ ελαίῳ καὶ ὕδατι τὴν χάριν τοῦ πνεύματος, καὶ ἐποίησεν αὐτὸ λουτρὸν ἀναγεννήσεως, οὕτως, ἐπειδὴ ἔθος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἄρτον ἐσθίειν, ὕδωρ τε καὶ οἶνον πίνειν, συνέζευξεν αὐτοῖς τὴν αὐτοῦ θεότητα, καὶ πεποίηκεν αὐτὰ σῶμα καὶ αἷμα αὐτοῦ, ἵνα διὰ τῶν συνηθῶν καὶ κατὰ φύσιν, ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ φύσιν γενόμεθα. Σῶμά ἐστιν ἀληθῶς ἡνωμένον θεότητι, τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἀγίας παρθένου σῶμα, οὐχ ὅτι τὸ ἀναληφθὲν σῶμα ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατέρχεται, ἀλλ' ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ ἄρτος καὶ οἶνος μεταποιοῦνται εἰς σῶμα καὶ αἷμα Θεοῦ. εἰ δὲ τὸν τρόπον ἐπιζητεῖς, πῶς γίνεται, ἀρκεῖ σοι ἀκοῦσαι, ὅτι διὰ πνεύματος ἀγίου, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀγίας θεοτόκου διὰ πνεύματος ἀγίου ἐαυτῷ καὶ ἐν ἐαυτῷ ὁ κύριος σάρκα ὑπεστήσατο· καὶ πλέον οὐδὲν γινώσκουμεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀληθὴς ἐστὶ καὶ ἐνεργὴς καὶ παντοδύναμος, ὁ δὲ τρόπος ἀνεξερευνήτος. οὐ χεῖρον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ὥσπερ φυσικῶς διὰ τῆς βρώσεως ὁ ἄρτος, καὶ ὁ οἶνος καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ διὰ τῆς πόσεως εἰς σῶμα καὶ αἷμα τοῦ ἐσθιόντος καὶ πίνοντος μεταβάλλονται, καὶ οὐ γίνονται ἕτερον σῶμα παρὰ τὸ πρότερον αὐτοῦ σῶμα· οὕτως ὁ τῆς προθέσεως ἄρτος, οἶνός τε, καὶ ὕδωρ διὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως καὶ ἐπιφοιτήσεως τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος, ὑπερφύως μεταποιοῦνται εἰς τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τὸ αἷμα, καὶ οὐκ εἰσὶ δύο, ἀλλ' ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτό. . . . Οὐκ ἔστι τύπος ὁ ἄρτος καὶ ὁ οἶνος τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ· μὴ γένοιτο· ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ κυρίου τεθεωμένον, αὐτοῦ τοῦ κυρίου εἰπόντος, Τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ, οὐ τύπος τοῦ σώματος, ἀλλὰ τὸ σῶμα· καὶ οὐ τύπος τοῦ αἵματος, ἀλλὰ τὸ αἷμα. . . . τιμῶμεν αὐτὸ πάση καθαρότητι, ψυχικῇ τε καὶ σωματικῇ διπλοῦν γὰρ ἐστὶ. . . . ἄνθρακα εἶδεν Ἡσαίας· ἄνθραξ δὲ ξύλον λιτὸν οὐκ ἔστι, ἀλλ' ἡνωμένον πυρί· οὕτω καὶ ὁ ἄρτος τῆς κοινωνίας, οὐκ ἄρτος λιτός ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἡνωμένος θεότητι· σῶμα δὲ ἡνωμένον θεότητι, οὐ μία φύσις ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ μία μὲν τοῦ σώματος, τῆς δὲ ἡνωμένης αὐτῷ θεότητος, ἑτέρα· ὥστε τὸ συναμφότερον, οὐ μία φύσις, ἀλλὰ δύο. . . . Σῶμά ἐστι καὶ αἷμα Χριστοῦ εἰς σύστασιν τῆς ἡμετέρας ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος χωροῦν, οὐ δαπανώμενον, οὐ φθειρόμενον, οὐκ εἰς ἀφεδρώνα χωροῦν· μὴ γένοιτο· ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ἡμῶν οὐσίαν καὶ συντήρησιν, βλάβης παντοδαποῦς ἀμυντήριον, ῥύπου παντὸς καθαρτήριο. . . . Οὗτος ὁ ἄρτος ἐστὶν ἡ ἀπαρχὴ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἄρτου, ὅς ἐστιν ὁ ἐπιούσιος· τὸ γὰρ ἐπιούσιον δηλοῖ, ἡ τὸν



μέλλοντα, τουτέστι τὸν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος, ἢ τὸν πρὸς συντήρησιν τῆς οὐσίας ἡμῶν λαμβανόμενον· εἴτε οὖν οὕτως, εἴτε οὕτως, τὸ τοῦ κυρίου σῶμα προσφυῶς λεχθήσεται· πνεῦμα γὰρ ζωοποιῶν ἐστὶν ἡ σὰρξ τοῦ κυρίου, διότι ἐκ τοῦ ζωοποιῶν πνεύματος συνελήφθη· τὸ γὰρ γεγεννημένον ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος, πνεῦμά ἐστι· τοῦτο δὲ λέγω, οὐκ ἀναίρων τὴν τοῦ σώματος φύσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ζωοποιῶν καὶ θεῖον τούτου δηλῶσαι βουλόμενος. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τίνες ἀντίτυπα τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ κυρίου τὸν ἄρτον καὶ τὸν οἶνον ἐκάλεσαν, ὡς ὁ θεοφόρος ἔφη Βασίλειος, οὐ μετὰ τὸ ἀγιασθῆναι εἶπον, ἀλλὰ πρὶν ἀγιασθῆναι, αὐτὴν τὴν προσφορὰν οὕτω καλέσαντες. Μετάληψις δὲ λέγεται δι' αὐτῆς γὰρ, τῆς Ἰησοῦ θεότητος μεταλαμβάνομεν. κοινωνία δὲ λέγεται τε καὶ ἐστὶν ἀληθῶς, διὰ τὸ κοινωνεῖν ἡμᾶς δι' αὐτῆς τῇ Χριστῷ, καὶ μετέχειν αὐτοῦ τῆς σαρκὸς τε καὶ τῆς θεότητος· κοινωνεῖν δὲ καὶ ἐνούσθαι ἀλλήλοις δι' αὐτῆς. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐξ ἐνὸς ἄρτου μεταλαμβάνομεν, οἱ πάντες ἐν σῶμα Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἐν αἵμα, καὶ ἀλλήλων μέλη γινόμεθα, σύσσωμοι Χριστοῦ χρηματίζοντες. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 420.) ; *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. p. 309.)

#### BERTRAMUS. A. D. 840.

*De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, ad init. Ille panis qui per sacerdotis ministerium Christi corpus efficitur, aliud exterius humanis sensibus ostendit, et aliud interius fidelium mentibus clamat. Exterius quidem panis, quod ante fuerat, forma prætenditur, color ostenditur, sapor accipitur: ast interius longe aliud, multoque pretiosius multoque excellentius intimatur: quia cœleste, quia divinum, id est, Christi corpus ostenditur, quod non sensibus carnis, sed animi fidelis contuitu vel aspicitur, vel accipitur, vel comeditur. Vinum quoque, quod sacerdotali consecratione Christi sanguinis efficitur sacramentum, aliud superficie tenus ostendit, aliud interius continet. Quid enim aliud in superficie, quam substantia vini conspiciatur? . . . at interius si consideres, jam non liquor vini, sed liquor sanguinis Christi credentium mentibus et sapit dum gustatur, et agnoscitur dum conspiciatur, et probatur dum adoratur. Hæc ita esse, dum nemo potest abnegare, claret: quia panis ille vinumque figurate Christi corpus et sanguis existit.

*Ibid.* Cum cibus vel potus ille futuri corporis Christi sanguisque mysterium quod celebrat Ecclesia præmonstraret, eandem tamen escam spiritualem manducasse, et pundem potum spiritualem bibisse patres nostros Sanctus Paulus asseverat.

Quæris fortasse, quam eandem? nimirum ipsam quam hodie populus credentium in Ecclesia manducat et bibit. Non enim licet diversa intelligi, quoniam unus idemque Christus est, qui et populum in deserto, in nube, et in mari baptizatum sua carne pavit, suo sanguine tunc potavit, et in Ecclesia nunc credentium populum sui corporis pane, sui sanguinis unda pascit ac potat. . . . Mirum certe, quoniam incomprehensibile et inestimabile nondum hominem assumpserat, nondum pro salute mundi mortem degustaverat, nondum sanguine suo nos redemerat, et jam nostri patres in deserto per escam spiritualem potumque invisibilem ejus corpus manducabant, et ejus sanguinem bibebant, velut testis existat Apostolus clamans: *eandem escam spiritualem manducasse, eundem potum spiritualem bibisse patres nostros*. . . . Ipse namque qui nunc in Ecclesia omnipotenti virtute panem et vinum in sui corporis carnem, et proprii cruoris undam spiritualiter convertit, ipse tunc quoque manna de cælo datum corpus suum, et aquam de petra profusam proprium sanguinem invisibiliter operatus est. *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. pp. 42. 143. 270. 308.)

#### THEOPHYLACTUS. A. D. 1077.

*In Marc. xiv. Εὐλογήσας δὲ, ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐχαριστήσας, ἔκλασε τὸν ἄρτον. ὅπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς ποιοῦμεν, εὐχὰς ἐπιλέγοντες. Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου, τοῦτο ὃ νῦν λαμβάνετε. οὐ γὰρ ἀντίτυπος τοῦ κυριακοῦ σώματος ἐστὶν ὁ ἄρτος· ἀλλ' εἰς αὐτὸ ἐκείνο μεταβάλλεται τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ. καὶ ὁ κύριος γὰρ λέγει. ὁ ἄρτος ὃν ἐγὼ δώσω, ἡ σὰρξ μου ἐστίν. οὐκ εἶπεν, ἀντίτυπός ἐστι τῆς σαρκὸς μου, ἀλλ' ἡ σὰρξ μου ἐστίν. . . . καὶ πῶς φησὶν, οὐ γὰρ σὰρξ καθορᾶται; διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν, ὃ ἄνθρωπε, ἀσθενείαν. ἐπειδὴν γὰρ ὁ μὲν ἄρτος καὶ ὁ οἶνος συνήθη ἡμῖν, αἷμα δὲ προκείμενον καὶ σάρκα ὁρῶντες οὐκ ἂν ἠνέγκαμεν, ἀλλ' ἀπενάρκησαμεν, διὰ τοῦτο συγκαταβαίνων ἡμῖν ὁ φιλόανθρωπος, τὸ μὲν εἶδος ἄρτου καὶ οἶνου φυλάττει, εἰς δύναμιν δὲ σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος μεταστοιχειῷ. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 417.); *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. pp. 294. 297.)*

#### DECRETUM GRATIANI. A. D. 1151.

*De Consecrat. Dist. 2. "Quia corpus." Ex Eusebio Emiseno [Eucherio?] Recedat ergo omne infidelitatis ambiguum: quandoquidem, qui auctor est muneris, ipse etiam testis est veritatis. Nam invisibilis sacerdos visibiles creaturas in sub-*

stantiam corporis et sanguinis sui verbo suo secreta potestates convertit, ita dicens: *Accipite et comedite; hoc est corpus meum*: et sanctificatione repetita: *Accipite et bibite; hic est sanguis meus*. Ergo sicut ad nutum præcipientis Domini repente ex nihilo substiterunt excelsa cœlorum, profunda fluctuum, vasta terrarum: ita pari potestate in spiritalibus sacramentis, ubi præcipit virtus, servit effectus. Quanta itaque, et quam celebranda beneficia vis divinæ benedictionis operetur, attende: et, ut tibi novum et impossibile videri non debeat, quod in Christi substantiam terrena et mortalia convertuntur, teipsum, qui jam in Christo es regeneratus, interroga. Dudum alienus a vita, peregrinus a misericordia, a salutis via intrinsecus mortuus exulabas: subito initiatus Christi legibus, et salutaribus mysteriis innovatus, in corpus Ecclesiæ non videndo sed credendo transilivisti, et de filio perditionis adoptivus Dei filius fieri occulta puritate meruisti: in mensura visibili permanens, major factus es teipso invisibiliter: sine quantitatis augmento, cum ipse atque idem esses, multo alter fidei processibus extitisti: in exteriori nihil additum est, et totum in interiori mutatum est: ac si homo Christi filius effectus, et Christus in hominis mente formatus est. Sicut ergo sine corporali sensu, præterea vilitate deposita, subito novam indutus es dignitatem, et sicut hæc quæ in te Deus læsa curavit, infecta diluit, maculata deterisit, non sunt oculis nec sensibus tuis credita: ita cum reverendum altare cœlestibus cibis satiandus ascendis, sacrum Dei tui corpus et sanguinem fide respice, honora, mirare, mente continge, cordis manu suscipe, et maxime haustu interiore assume. *Defence*, (vol. ii. pp. 323. 441.); *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. pp. 272. 275. 412. 415.); *Disputation with Chedsey*, (vol. iv. p. 63.)

*Ibid.* "Corpus." Ex Hilario. Corpus Christi quod sumitur de altari figura est, dum panis et vinum extra videtur, veritas autem, dum corpus et sanguis Christi in veritate interius creditur. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 324.); *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. pp. 369. 375.)

*Ibid.* "Hoc est." Ex Augustino. Hoc est, quod dicimus: hoc modis omnibus approbare contendimus sacrificium Ecclesiæ duobus confici, duobus constare, visibili elementorum specie, et invisibili Domini nostri Jesu Christi carne et sanguine, sacramento, et re sacramenti, id est, corpore Christi; sicut Christi

persona constat et conficitur Deo et homine : cum ipse Christus verus sit Deus, et verus homo : quia omnis res illarum rerum naturam et veritatem in se continet, ex quibus conficitur. Conficitur autem sacrificium Ecclesiæ sacramento et re sacramenti, id est, corpore Christi. Est igitur sacramentum et res sacramenti, id est, corpus Christi. . . . Sicut ergo cœlestis panis, qui vere Christi caro est, suo modo vocatur corpus Christi, cum revera sit sacramentum corporis Christi, illius videlicet, quod visibile et palpabile, mortale, in cruce est suspensum, vocaturque ipsa immolatio carnis, quæ sacerdotis manibus fit, Christi passio, mors, crucifixio, non rei veritate, sed significante mysterio, sic sacramentum fidei, quod baptismus intelligitur, fides est. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 328.) ; *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. p. 432.)

*Ibid.* " Ego Berengarius." Ego Berengarius indignus S. Mauritii Andigavensis Ecclesiæ diaconus, cognoscens veram, catholicam, et Apostolicam fidem, anathematizo omnem hæresim, præcipue eam, de qua hactenus infamatus sum : quæ astruere conatur panem et vinum, quæ in altari ponuntur, post consecrationem solummodo sacramentum et non verum corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi esse nec posse sensualiter, nisi in solo sacramento, manibus sacerdotum tractari vel frangi, aut fidelium dentibus atteri. Consentio autem sanctæ Romanæ et Apostolicæ sedi : et ore et corde profiteor de sacramentis dominicæ mensæ eandem fidem me tenere, quam dominus et venerabilis Papa Nicolaus et hæc sancta synodus auctoritate Evangelica et Apostolica tenendam tradidit, mihi que firmavit : scilicet, panem et vinum, quæ in altari ponuntur, post consecrationem non solum sacramentum, sed etiam verum corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi esse, et sensualiter, non solum sacramento, sed in veritate manibus sacerdotum tractari, frangi, et fidelium dentibus atteri. *Defence*, (vol. ii. p. 310.) ; *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. pp. 42. 89.)

*Ibid.* " Tribus gradibus." Tribus gradibus commissa sunt sacramenta divinorum secretorum, id est, presbytero, diacono, et ministro : qui cum timore et tremore clericorum reliquias fragmentorum corporis Domini custodire debent. Tanta in altario certe holocausta offerantur, quanta populo sufficere debeant. Quod si remanserint, in crastinum non reserventur, sed cum timore et tremore, clericorum diligentia consumantur. *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. p. 101.)

## CONCILIIUM LATERANENSE. A. D. 1215.

*Decretal.* lib. i. tit. i. "Firmiter." Una est fidelium universalis Ecclesia, extra quam nullus omnino salvatur. In qua idem ipse sacerdos est sacrificium Jesus Christus: cujus corpus et sanguis in sacramento altaris sub speciebus panis et vini veraciter continentur, transubstantiatis pane in corpus, et vino in sanguinem, potestate divina: ut ad perficiendum mysterium unitatis, accipiamus ipsi de suo, quod accepit ipse de nostro. Et hoc utique sacramentum nemo potest conficere, nisi sacerdos, qui rite fuerit ordinatus secundum claves Ecclesiæ, quas ipse concessit Apostolis eorumque successoribus Jesus Christus. *Answer to Smythe*, (vol. iii. p. 17.); *Answer to Gardyner*, (vol. iii. p. 363.)

THE END.



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